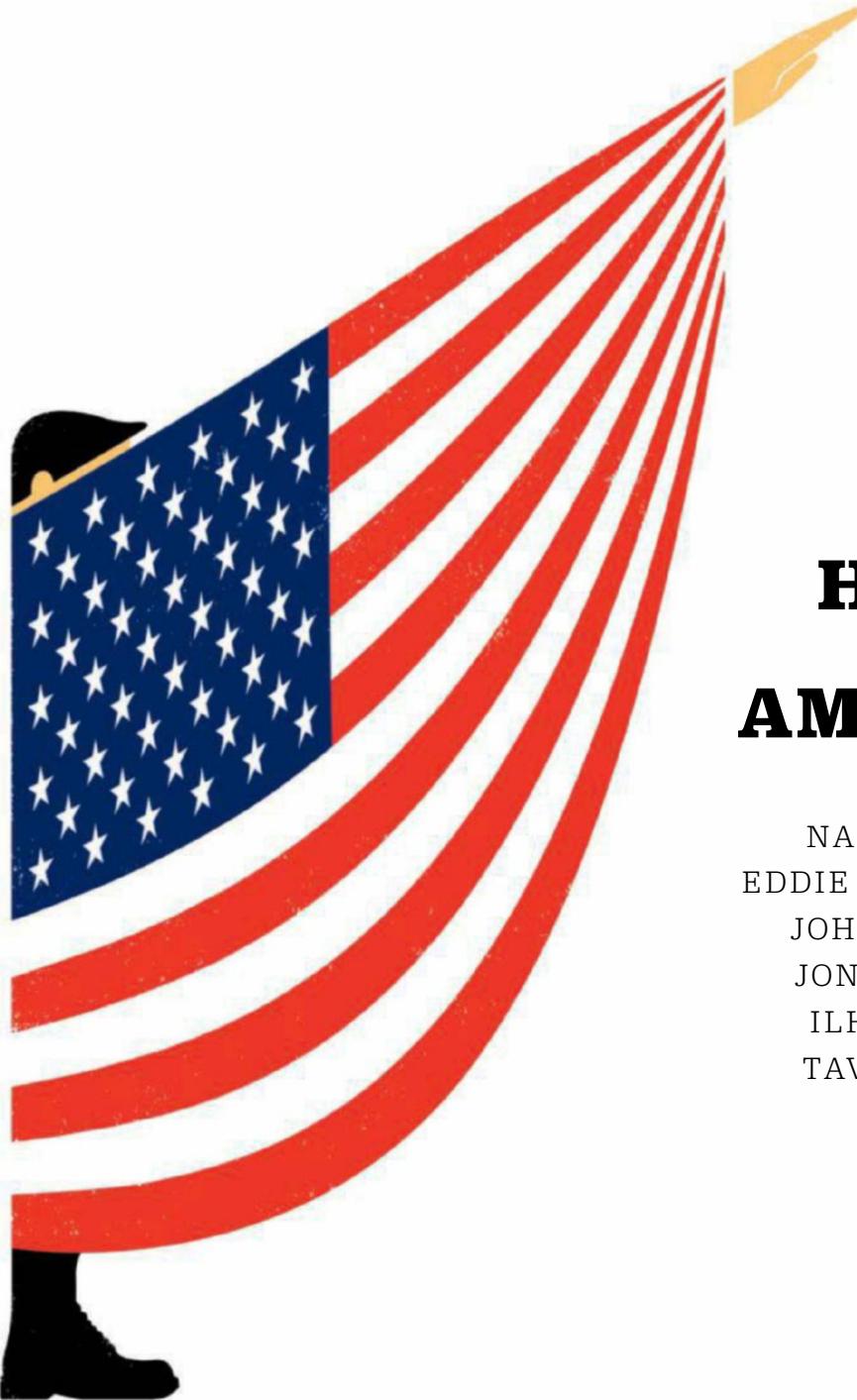


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HATE IN AMERICA

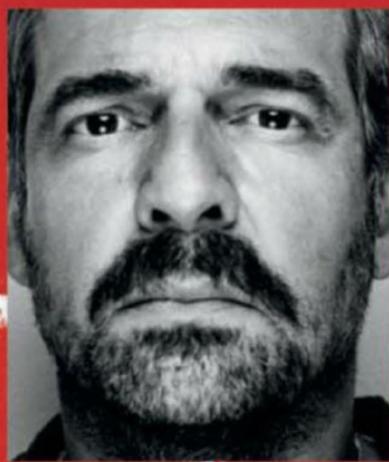
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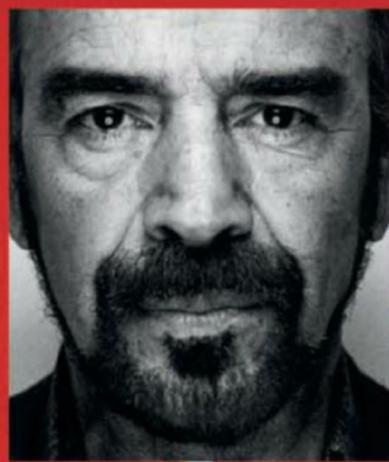
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THE CALI CARTEL

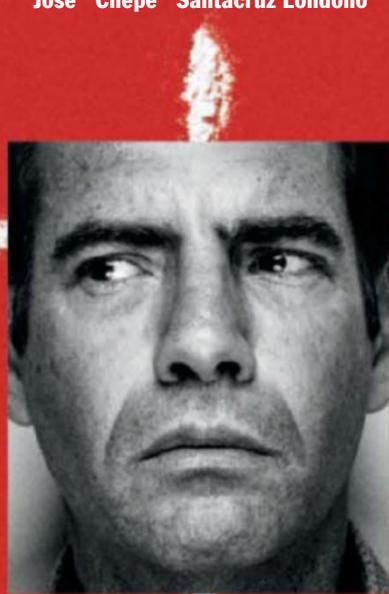


Pépe Rapazote as
Jose "Chepe" Santacruz Londoño

THE NEW KINGS OF COKE



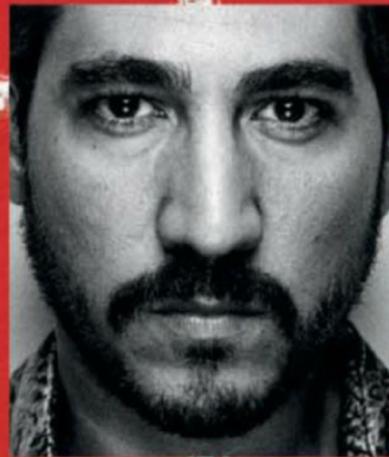
Damián Alcázar as
Gilberto Rodríguez Orejuela



Francisco Denis as
Miguel Rodríguez Orejuela

NARCOS

A NETFLIX ORIGINAL SERIES



Alberto Ammann as
Hélder "Pacho" Herrera

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MEET THE GENTLEMEN OF CALI

Pablo Escobar was only the beginning.

While U.S. and Colombian law enforcement were focused on dismantling the Medellín Cartel, the members of the Cali Cartel were quietly building a cocaine empire. By the time of Escobar's death in 1993, the Cali Cartel had seized control of the global cocaine industry. At their peak, they were responsible for 70% of the cocaine in the United States and 90% in Europe.

Pablo's flashy lifestyle and excessive use of bloodshed attracted attention, but the "Gentlemen" of Cali operated under the radar. They relied on bribes, blackmail and even had their employees observe a strict code of conduct to keep their operations out of the public eye. They firmly believed the best drug lord was the one you had never heard of.



Their methods worked. The Cali Cartel was able to move 340 tons of cocaine per year, bringing in an estimated \$15B. Rather than bury their money, the Gentlemen of Cali hid their fortune in plain sight. They employed tens of thousands in a series of legitimate businesses, including: a chain of 425 pharmacies, security companies, 26 radio stations, two pharmaceutical laboratories, and numerous real estate companies. These legitimate businesses washed away the origin of their wealth and made the Cali Godfathers look like successful businessmen. Often called "Cocaine Inc.", they ran their empire like a Fortune 500 company.

Watch the Cali Cartel rise to power as the new kings of coke in Season 3 of *Narcos*.

The Rise of a New Empire

01

GRASS ROOTS

1977

The Cali Cartel is founded and begins trafficking marijuana.

02

CASH CROP

Late 1970's

Shortly after its foundation, the Cali Cartel makes the switch to cocaine after realizing they can turn a much larger profit.

04

WAR ON DRUGS

Early 1991

U.S. and Colombian law enforcement begins to crack down on the cocaine trade and ramp up their efforts to take down Escobar.

03

BIG APPLE

Late 1970's - Early 1980's

The Cali Cartel sets their sights on New York and begins to distribute cocaine in the U.S.

05

CEASEFIRE

Early 1991

Escobar accepts a plea deal and remands himself to 'La Catedral,' a luxury prison of his own design.

07

ESCOBAR EXITS

July 22, 1992

Pablo Escobar escapes from 'La Catedral' and goes into hiding, his empire in shambles.

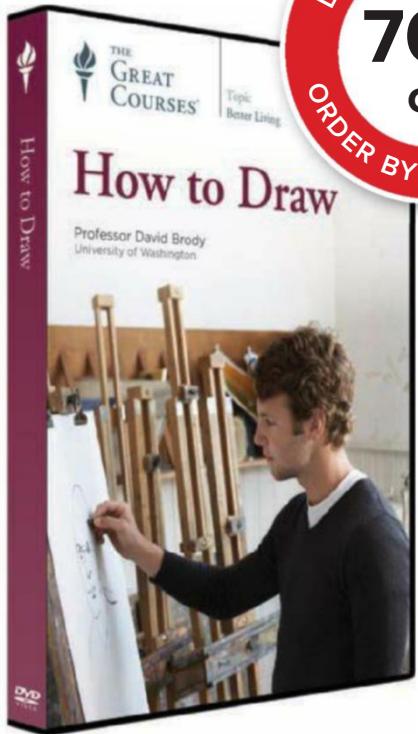
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RIP PABLO

December 2, 1993

Escobar is killed by U.S. and Colombian law enforcement, eliminating the Cali Cartel's biggest competitor.



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5. Line and Shape: Volume and Figure-Ground
6. Line and Shape: Positive and Negative Shape
7. Composition: The Format and Its Armature
8. Composition: How Artists Compose
9. Line and Shape: Line Attributes and Gesture
10. Composition: Shape and Advanced Strategies
11. Proportion: Alberti's *Vel*
12. Proportion: Accurate Proportion and Measure
13. Creating Volume and Illusionistic Space
14. Six Complex Drawing Projects
15. Linear Perspective: Introduction
16. Linear Perspective: The Quad
17. Linear Perspective: The Gridded Room
18. Linear Perspective: Ellipses and Pattern
19. Linear Perspective: Advanced Topics
20. Value: How Artists Use Value
21. Value: Drawing Materials for Value
22. Value: Black and White and a Value Scale
23. Value: Eight Complex Drawing Projects
24. Value: Side Light and Cast Shadow
25. Value: Oblique Light and Cast Shadow
26. Texture: Mark Making and Optical Value
27. Texture: How Artists Use Texture
28. Color: Color Theory and Color and Light
29. Color: How Artists Use Color
30. Color: Color Drawing Projects
31. The Figure: A Canon of Proportions
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News from the U.S. and around the world

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Special Report

Hate in America

A violent clash at a white-supremacist rally in Charlottesville, Va., ignites a battle for the nation's soul

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President Trump forgoes unity to fan the flames of tribal grievance

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A vigil in front of the White House on Aug. 13 memorializes a social-media post from Heather Heyer, who died protesting the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville, Va.

Photograph by Zach Gibson—AFP/Getty Images

ON THE COVER:
Illustration by Edel Rodriguez for TIME



What you said about ...

TRUMP'S LAST BEST HOPE Cable-news pundits have been talking about whether President Trump will punish the new White House chief of staff John Kelly for being the subject of our Aug. 21 cover. "Remember when Steve Bannon was on the cover? He was in the doghouse for a while," Gloria Borger said on CNN. (The image of Kelly reminded Madison, Wis., reader Tim Heinrich of Jack Nicholson in *A Few Good Men*.) After reading Michael Duffy's feature, John Bossard of San Francisco hoped Kelly would be here to stay, arguing that, given the threat posed by North Korea, he feels "much more at ease" with so many generals advising the President.

Kurt Wolf of Sarasota, Fla., also "thoroughly loved" the profile, but preferred to see "Cancer's Newest Miracle Cure" on the cover because he thinks the subject is more relatable.

RACISM IN CHILDREN'S BOOKS Sarah Begley's Aug. 7 report on English professor Philip Nel's latest book about hidden and not-so-hidden racism in children's literature sparked a lot of discussion. Bob Conklin of Santa Rosa Beach, Fla., argued that today's standards shouldn't be used to judge books, but rather the standards of the time period in which they were published. Likewise Joyce Beckner, of Rushville, Ind., added that any politically incorrect

parts of *Little House on the Prairie* are a reflection more of "ignorance than racism." Donald Oas of Naples, N.Y., wrote, "I guess an adult can read anything into any book but a child I doubt." For example, 14-year-old Madi Stapleton of Raleigh, N.C., disagreed with Nel's argument that the Cat in the Hat's outfit harked back to the minstrelsy, arguing that its top hat and gloves are merely "a clever way to more obviously show that the Cat is a tuxedo cat."

'It takes an adult to see these & then, perhaps point it out to a child & THAT is how racism begins!'

SHIRL BRAINARD,
Albuquerque, N.M.

'More like "America's last best hope."

LAYNE HARRIS,
Brooklyn



CHARLOTTESVILLE The true story behind this viral photo

THE OFFICER STANDS CALMLY WITH A GROUP OF WHITE supremacists behind him. The image made at a KKK rally in Charlottesville, Va., went viral during the Aug. 12 unrest there. "This picture hurts," one commenter tweeted. "Incredible," wrote another, who prefaced the remark with a query: "Who took this photo?" As the retweets piled up, so did the doubts it was shot this month. In the blitz of breaking news, it became the latest image to be shared online without credit or context. So began a search for the backstory. Did the photographer know the power of her image? Was the officer aware he'd become an icon? Read the full story, and meet them both, at time.com/cville-photo

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT Due to an editing error in the Aug. 21 issue, "Birdbrain Is a Misnomer" misstated Alex the parrot's age when he died. He was 31. In the same issue, a timeline misstated the decade Elvis Presley began his movie career. It was the 1950s. Additionally, a caption for a photo of Presley on the Index page misstated the year it was taken. It was 1956.

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'I'm critical of your client sticking his hand under my skirt and grabbing my ass.'

TAYLOR SWIFT, pop star, responding to a question about whether she was critical of her bodyguard in her testimony against Colorado DJ David Mueller, who she said groped her bare backside at a meet-and-greet in 2013; Mueller was found guilty of assault and battery, and will have to pay a symbolic \$1 to Swift

5,000

Estimated number of people infected with cholera per day in war-torn Yemen, according to a new World Health Organization report



30

Number of single-serving cups of ice cream that SpaceX launched in a rocket to the International Space Station, along with 18 ice cream bars and research equipment, including 20 live mice

'Allow yourself to be a vessel.'

SIMONE ASKEW, cadet at the U.S. Military Academy in West Point, N.Y., advising young people at an Aug. 14 press conference that announced she'll be the first African-American woman to serve as first captain of the Corps of Cadets, the highest position in the school's cadet chain of command

'I FEEL A RESPONSIBILITY TO TAKE A STAND AGAINST EXTREMISM.'

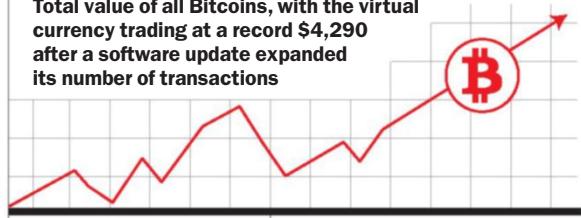
KENNETH C. FRAZIER, CEO of Merck, explaining he was resigning from the President's American Manufacturing Council because of Trump's failure to immediately condemn the white supremacists and neo-Nazis rallying in Charlottesville, Va.; Frazier, who was the only black member of the council, was followed by the CEOs of Intel and Under Armour

'All we see is dead bodies.'

FRANCIS LANGUMBA KEILI, director of Sierra Leone's Office of National Security, describing the effort to search for victims of the Aug. 14 mudslides that flooded the nation's capital, Freetown, after heavy rains, killing more than 300 people as of Aug. 16 and leaving thousands homeless

\$70,000,000,000

Total value of all Bitcoins, with the virtual currency trading at a record \$4,290 after a software update expanded its number of transactions



Ants
Scientists have created the first mutant ants with gene-editing technology CRISPR

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Fleas
Insects in two Arizona counties have tested positive for bubonic plague

'I THOUGHT I WOULD LAST LONGER THAN A CARTON OF MILK'

ANTHONY SCARAMUCCI, former White House communications director, in his first sit-down interview since he was fired after 10 days in the position

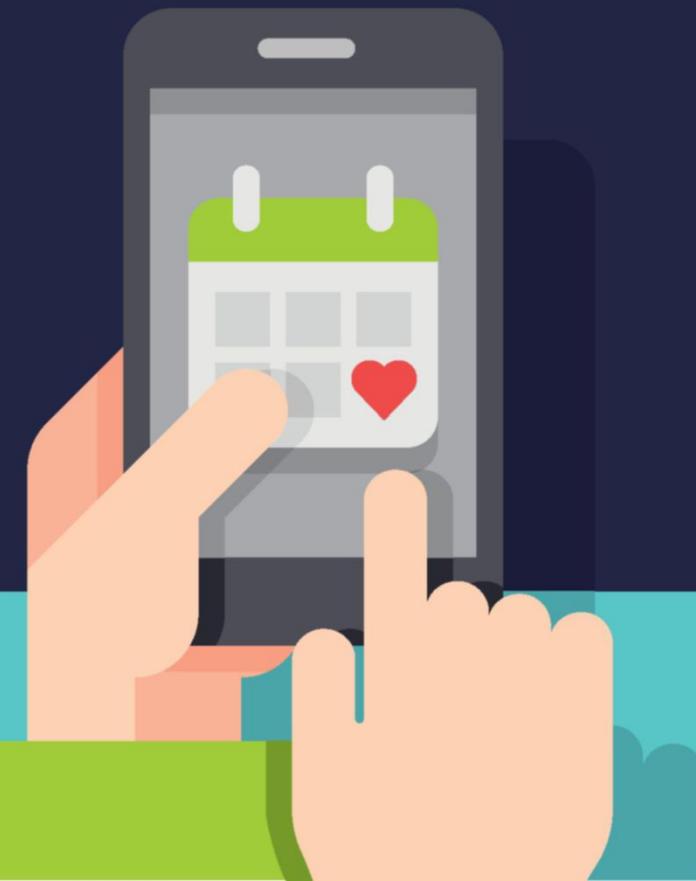
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The Brief

IMMIGRATION LAWYERS FEAR THE RESULT WILL BE MORE DEPORTATIONS. —PAGE 12



Venezuelan soldiers staged a show of force in Caracas on Aug. 14 in response to Trump's remarks

► FOREIGN POLICY

Trump's penchant for chaos brings less world order

By Karl Vick

THERE'S NO ONE WAY TO PRODUCE A U.S. foreign policy. "Realists" hew to a pragmatic view of the world. Moralists are more guided by convictions. Academics identify a Hamiltonian school of thought, also a Wilsonian, Jeffersonian and Jacksonian one.

But Donald Trump may be the first President who seems to just make it up on the fly. In the dog days of August, U.S. officials scrambled to brace up a global architecture that shuddered with each new pronouncement Trump appeared to have made off the cuff.

In Asia the highest-ranking U.S. military officer flew to Seoul to walk back Trump's Aug. 8 vow, which aides confirmed he made without consulting anyone, that any future threat from Pyongyang "will be met with fire and fury like the world has never

seen." Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Joseph F. Dunford Jr. pointedly told South Korea's leader Moon Jae-in the crisis in the Korean Peninsula ought to be defused "through diplomatic and economic pressure." Dunford then flew on to Beijing and Tokyo to offer more such assurances.

Another Trump stunner landed closer to home. In South America, Vice President Mike Pence was dealing with the backlash from an Aug. 11 news conference dominated by Trump's threats to North Korea. The President was asked, in passing, about Venezuela. The oil-rich country, which in 2001 was the wealthiest on the continent, is in a dire political and economic crisis, with food in short supply and hospitals struggling for electricity. With the government of President Nicolás

Maduro grabbing more power, and protests edging toward insurgency, the country is at risk of civil war. But so far it's proved a threat only to its own people.

"We have many options for Venezuela," Trump declared. "And by the way, I am not going to rule out a military option."

In Latin America, where neighboring countries had been uniting impressively against Maduro, that statement immediately made Washington the villain—the long history of U.S. interference and invasion in the region lurching out of a past that previous Presidents had taken pains to disavow. "Since friends have to tell them the truth, I've told Vice President Pence the possibility of military intervention shouldn't even be considered," said Colombian President Juan Manuel Santos, whose Defense Secretary called Trump's threat "crazy." Pence said, "Trump's made it very clear we will not stand by while Venezuela collapses into dictatorship," though there was no clear role for the U.S. military beyond unifying Venezuelan sentiment against it. Maduro called for military exercises at a lectern with a sign reading, TRUMP KEEP OUT OF LATIN AMERICA.

"Trump's comments appeared to be, as usual, a sudden outburst that was not thought through," Riordan Roett, head of Latin American studies at Johns Hopkins, told the *New York Times*. "It puts the U.S. in the position of the 'bully,' not unlike the warmongering over North Korea."

U.S. Presidents usually respond to provocations. Trump likes to produce them: in June his surprise tweets in support of the Saudi Arabia-led campaign to isolate Qatar elevated a simmering rivalry between two U.S. allies into a full-on regional crisis, in a Middle East that already has plenty of them. And his continued battering of the Iran nuclear accord—even as he technically affirms it, as the agreement requires a President to do every six months—gives comfort to Iranian hard-liners already keenly aware of North Korea's accomplishments. On Aug. 15, Iranian President Hassan Rouhani felt compelled to warn that the country's nuclear program could be resumed "within hours" if Trump imposes threatened new sanctions. "The hard-liners in Iran are feeling hopeful that if the deal unravels, they won't be blamed for it—the U.S. will be blamed for it," says Karim Sadjadpour, an Iran expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "It's the opposite of five years ago, when there was a bombastic Iranian President. They feel like Ahmadinejad is in Washington."

Will Trump's extemporaneous approach to a complicated world one day coalesce into a new school of foreign policy? It's a question diplomats might take up, once they're done rushing around extinguishing the fires he keeps lighting. □



TICKER

Canadian province bans grizzly hunts

British Columbia has banned the controversial practice of hunting grizzly bears for sport. The Canadian province's ban will take effect on Nov. 30, following this year's trophy-hunt season. Hunting grizzlies for meat will still be permitted in all but one region.

California city settles hijab lawsuit

The city of Long Beach, Calif., agreed to pay \$85,000 to a Muslim woman who filed suit after her hijab was removed by police after she was arrested on an outstanding warrant. The police updated its guidelines on head coverings.

13% of U.S. take antidepressants

Close to 13% of Americans ages 12 and older admitted using antidepressants in the previous month in a government study conducted from 2011 to '14. The number was up from 11% from '05 to '08.

London's Big Ben may fall silent

Big Ben, the bell inside the iconic clock tower at London's Palace of Westminster, may be silenced until 2021 during restoration work due to start on Aug. 21. British lawmakers are examining ways to have the bells sound occasionally, after the plan drew criticism.

HUMAN RIGHTS

Nepal criminalizes period huts

On Aug. 9, Nepal criminalized the practice of relegating women to huts when they are menstruating. The new law, which comes into effect in August 2018, stipulates that anyone enforcing the custom, known as *chhaupadi*, will face a three-month jail sentence and a fine. Here's more. —Tara John

HISTORICAL CUSTOM

Ancient Nepalese tradition dictates that women must be sequestered to small animal sheds outside their homes during menstruation or after childbirth, as they are considered to be impure. For a couple of days to a month, women are barred from entering homes and temples and are forbidden to touch men, cattle or some foods.

STILL WIDESPREAD

Nepal's supreme court ruled that *chhaupadi* was illegal in 2005, but the ban has been widely flouted. According to a '10 local government survey, one-fifth of all women ages 15 to 49 were banished during their periods, including up to 50% in the mid- and far-western regions. A local poll found that only 40% of people in the midwestern region even knew of the ban.

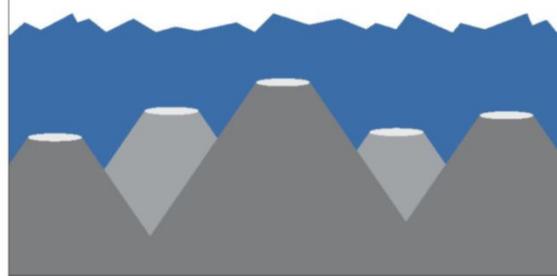
DEADLY CONSEQUENCES

The U.N. says *chhaupadi* leaves women susceptible to illness, rape and animal attacks. Since last November, five women have died while in exile, according to a nonprofit working in the western region. Activists have applauded the decision to criminalize the practice but are concerned that it might not be enough to stamp out a custom that has deep roots in Hindu scripture.

DIGITS

91

Number of volcanoes that scientists discovered more than a mile below the surface of the ice in West Antarctica





AMERICAN IDOL A street memorial marks the 40th anniversary of Elvis Presley's death during a candlelight vigil near Graceland, his estate in Memphis, on Aug. 15. His death, at age 42 on Aug. 16, 1977, stunned the music industry and devastated millions of fans worldwide. Presley is still a best seller four decades later; his estate made an estimated \$27 million in the year leading up to October 2016. *Photograph by Brandon Dill—AP*

AUSTRALIA

The dual-citizenship crisis rocking politics Down Under

The Australian government is at risk of collapse after it emerged on Aug. 14 that National Party leader and Deputy Prime Minister Barnaby Joyce is a dual citizen of New Zealand and Australia. The discovery might bar him from public office and threaten his governing coalition:

THE LAW Australia's 116-year-old constitution prohibits subjects or citizens of foreign powers from sitting in Parliament. Since July 14, five politicians have admitted they inherited or have been given dual citizenship; all but one say they did not know until recently. The high court now must decide whether they should be prohibited from holding public office.

THE POLITICS Joyce, who says he

had no idea he automatically inherited New Zealand citizenship from his father upon birth, is the most senior figure yet to be caught up in the scandal. If the Deputy Prime Minister is forced to resign by the high court, his Liberal-National Coalition would lose its single-seat majority in Parliament, adding yet more instability to a country that has had four Prime Ministers since 2013.

THE FALLOUT Australian politicians are falling all over themselves to prove they are 100% Australian. British-born former Prime Minister Tony Abbott, for example, tweeted a letter from the U.K. government confirming that he renounced citizenship. But opposition politicians and journalists are continuing to seek other offenders, and they may find them: roughly a third of Australia's population of 24.3 million was born overseas. —RACHEL LEWIS



◀ Joyce, Australia's Deputy Prime Minister, says he was "shocked" to learn he is also a citizen of New Zealand

DATA

BEST COUNTRIES FOR RETIREMENT

Norway is the best place to spend your golden years, according to asset-management firm Natixis, which ranked 43 nations by factors such as health care availability, pensions and quality of life. Here's how a sample of countries ranked:



1
Norway



5
New Zealand



14
Ireland



17
U.S.



22
Japan



33
Spain



43
India

**TICKER****Oklahoma bomb plotter charged**

A man was charged with attempting to blow up a bank in Oklahoma City in a plot similar to the deadly 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building. Jerry Drake Varnell, 23, who told investigators that he wanted to start a “revolution,” faces up to 20 years in prison.

32 killed in Duterte drug raids

Philippine police killed 32 suspected drug offenders and arrested over 100 more in a series of raids near the capital, Manila, on Aug. 15. The spate of violence is thought to be the bloodiest 24 hours yet in President Rodrigo Duterte’s drug war.

Swiss hotel singles out Jewish guests

A Swiss hotel sparked outrage by installing signs asking “Jewish guests” to shower before swimming and to use a communal freezer only at certain times. The hotel manager denied anti-Semitism, saying her “choice of words was a mistake.”

Cake, 106, found in Antarctica

A 106-year-old fruitcake was discovered in a hut on Cape Adare, Antarctica, that was used by British explorer Robert Falcon Scott during his final, fatal 1911 expedition. The Antarctic Heritage Trust said the cake was in “excellent condition.”

JUSTICE**Undocumented immigrants may get less time to make their case****By Tessa Berenson**

THREE DAYS BEFORE AN immigration hearing in mid-August, Jeffrey Widdison got some bad news: the judge wasn’t giving him more time.

The Wilmington, N.C.-based lawyer was representing an undocumented immigrant from Mexico who had lived in the U.S. for more than 10 years. The best defense was arguing that deporting the man would harm his 4-year-old daughter, a U.S. citizen. But Widdison hadn’t been able to talk to her yet because of an ongoing custody battle.

Difficult situations like this crop up all the time in courtrooms across the country, and not just with immigration. Lawyers typically deal with them by asking the judge for a continuance, a routine delay in court proceedings. It slows the justice system down, but it also helps ensure that both sides can make their best cases in court.

Widdison asked for—and was denied—such a continuance. Immigration lawyers have reason to fear that this is going to happen more under the Trump Administration. On July 31, the Department of Justice issued a memorandum to all immigration judges urging them to grant fewer continuances, arguing that they were making “already crowded” dockets worse.

The massive backlog of immigration cases is a real problem. Since 2011, the number of pending cases has doubled to more than 600,000, bogging down lawyers and miring immigrants in an average of

SLOW SYSTEM**CALIFORNIA**

Pending cases:

107,419

Average wait time:

659 days**TEXAS**

Pending cases:

95,242

Average wait time:

790 days**GEORGIA**

Pending cases:

18,126

Average wait time:

613 days

SOURCE: TRAC Immigration

nearly two years of uncertainty before their fate is decided, according to TRAC Immigration, a nonpartisan project that tracks government data.

“This DOJ is committed to fighting the backlog by increasing productivity without compromising due process,” says Justice spokesman Devin O’Malley. “This guidance protects due process while reminding immigration judges of the effects that inappropriate continuances have on the efficient completion of cases.”

The President and Attorney General have vowed to crack down on illegal immigration, and the new directive could help resolve cases at a faster clip. Most immigration lawyers agree that courts are overloaded. But they fear the result will be more deportations as judges use the wide discretion afforded them to cut back on continuances.

Lawyers often rely heavily on continuances because immigration law grants limited formal discovery rights. In criminal cases the prosecution is generally required to turn over evidence to the defense, but in immigration cases lawyers often have to file a Freedom of Information Act request to find out what the government has on their client. This can take months. “If their priority is speed, we all know that sounds really good, but usually due process takes a hit when your focus is efficiency,” says Andrew Nietor, an attorney in San Diego.

It remains to be seen if the new guidance will streamline the ponderous system or add more hurdles for the hundreds of thousands of immigrants and their lawyers. For Widdison, it has already been decisive. The judge found that he hadn’t adequately proved his case and gave his client 45 days to voluntarily leave the country. □



WILL SHE BE MARRIED OFF AT 15, 14, 13, 12...?

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LETTER FROM GUAM

The U.S. territory in the line of North Korea's 'enveloping fire'

By Joseph Hincks/Hagåtña, Guam

TIME, A SLIPPERY MEASURE OF ISLAND LIFE, HAS taken on a chilling exactitude on Guam. "14 Minutes" ran the front-page headline of a recent edition of the *Pacific Daily News*. That, the article explained, was how long it would take four missiles launched from North Korea to travel the 2,100 miles to the western Pacific Ocean waters where the U.S. territory lies and create what the Hermit Kingdom's leader Kim Jong Un described as an "enveloping fire." Pyongyang's threat directly defied a promise by U.S. President Donald Trump to respond with "fire and fury" to further North Korean provocations. On Aug. 15, Kim appeared to pause the escalation, saying he would watch U.S. actions "a little more" before ordering a strike on Guam. But the annual U.S. military exercises with South Korea, which Pyongyang vehemently opposes, are due to start on Aug. 21 and could trigger yet more saber rattling—and, perhaps, hostilities.

Until recently, Guam, 210 square miles at the bottom of Micronesia's Mariana Islands chain, would not have been familiar to many Americans. Few make the 6,000-mile trip across the Pacific to visit the island; its palm-studded beaches and flamingo sunsets lure mostly South Korean and Japanese tourists. But Kim's threats have made the world pay attention to the island and its 163,000 U.S. citizens.

The American military drives about 30% of Guam's economy, and U.S. bases occupy a third of the island's land. Andersen Air Force Base lies to the north, Naval Base Guam and the Joint Region Marianas military command to the south. This was a primary launchpad for the Vietnam War and where, on Aug. 7, seven B-1B bombers took off to fly sorties over the Korean Peninsula. Guam is the Asian spear tip of the world's biggest military, and consequently a natural target.

GUAM HAS BEEN A COLONY since the 17th century—ruled first by the Spanish, then the Americans, then the Imperial Japanese during World War II, then the Americans again. A calypso-like wartime ditty urging the latter's return indicates the warmth the indigenous Chamorro people then felt. "Sam, my dear Uncle Sam, would you please come back to Guam," it goes. "I don't like sake, I like Canadian [whiskey]/I don't like the Japanese, I love American."

Not everyone feels that warmth today. Lisalinda Natividad, an assistant professor at the University of Guam, says that Liberation Day, which marks the U.S. defeat of the Japanese every July 21, is "about



Above: Along with hosting mostly Asian tourists, Guam hosts two U.S. bases and about 7,000 military personnel.
Below:
North Korea's bellicose leader
Kim Jong Un

reoccupation." Although Guam's military enlistment rate is higher than that of any U.S. state, Natividad says it speaks to a lack of options. More than a third of islanders qualify for food stamps. At the Pay-Less supermarket downtown, a half-gallon of milk costs about \$7; on base, it's the same price for a gallon.

What's more, Micronesia has often paid the price for the American military presence. From 1946 to 1958, the U.S. tested 67 nuclear weapons in the nearby Marshall Islands, including the devastating Castle Bravo test at Bikini Atoll. In his book *What We Bury at Night*, Guamanian human-rights attorney Julian Aguon chronicled how irradiated Marshallese mothers had borne "jellyfish babies" with translucent skin and no bones. Now Chamorro people are in the firing line because of U.S. projections of power, says Aguon. "[Guam is] a photograph of the gulf between the ones who make the decisions and the ones who suffer the consequences of those decisions," he says.

On the day of the "14 Minutes" headline, Guam's government issued a two-page fact sheet titled "In Case of Emergency: Preparing for an Imminent Missile Threat." Among the advice it gives residents affected by fallout: Avoid using conditioner "because it will bind radioactive material to your hair." Ana Aguon, an islander, says she read the fact sheet but worries that if a bomb comes at night, there won't be time to heed its advice. "I told my kids, 'Just make sure you've got snacks so that whenever they tell us to evacuate, you just grab your backpack and move,'" she says.

On Aug. 12, Trump called Guam Governor Eddie Calvo. He assured Calvo that he was "1,000%" behind him and suggested he enjoy the attention. Tourism, the President said, is "going to go up, like, tenfold with the expenditure of no money." Some, however, caught an unusual note in Trump's phrasing. He called Calvo, Trump said several times, "to pay [his] respects." For two men just shooting the breeze, it was an oddly funereal phrase. □



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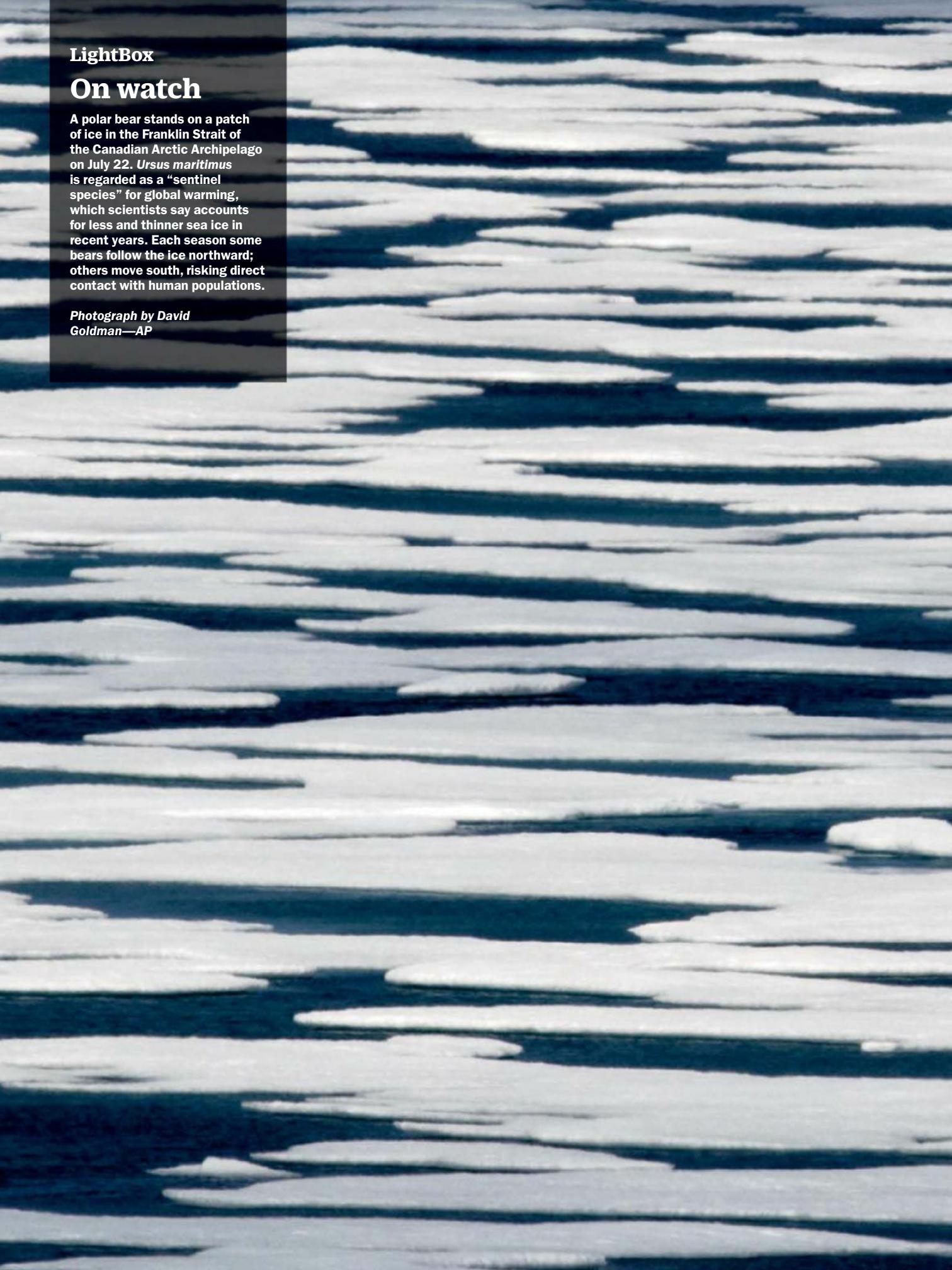
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LightBox

On watch

A polar bear stands on a patch of ice in the Franklin Strait of the Canadian Arctic Archipelago on July 22. *Ursus maritimus* is regarded as a "sentinel species" for global warming, which scientists say accounts for less and thinner sea ice in recent years. Each season some bears follow the ice northward; others move south, risking direct contact with human populations.

Photograph by David Goldman—AP





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— J. Fitzgerald, VA



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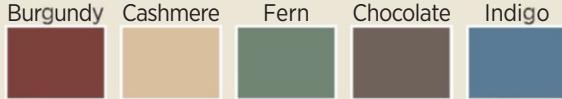
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TheView

'TERRIFIED—NOT JUST OF PHYSICAL DANGERS BUT OF THE EMOTIONAL DANGERS OF ADULT SOCIAL INTERACTION' —PAGE 20



Global side-eye: Trump and Xi's relationship has grown more tense since meeting at Mar-a-Lago earlier this year

ECONOMICS

The U.S. can win a trade war with China. That doesn't mean it should try

By Ian Bremmer

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP WAS ready to wage war in Asia this week—but not against North Korea and not with conventional weapons. Instead, it was China at risk and of a trade war. The White House had repeatedly warned that the Middle Kingdom's persistent misbehavior would lead to more U.S. pressure on the superpowers' trade relationship, and it seemed finally ready to act. Yet China's cooperation on U.N. Security Council sanctions against North Korea earlier in August seems to have bought Beijing some time. Instead of announcing retaliatory policies that could launch an economic skirmish as many expected, on Aug. 14 President Trump announced a broad investigation into China's suspected theft of American intellectual property.

Trump's announcement keeps the pressure on China while allowing him the space he needs to plan his next move. And though many have warned that a conflict over commerce would quickly escalate and badly damage both sides, it's clear that the U.S. would win a trade war with the emerging-market giant.

Why? For one, China's vulnerabilities are far greater. The crudest measure of this is the \$300 billion-plus trade deficit that Trump has complained so much about. In 2016, U.S. exports to China totaled \$115.6 billion, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, while China's exports to the U.S. totaled \$462.6 billion. Beijing can cause pain for American companies and consumers, particularly in sectors like agriculture where U.S. firms

employ few Chinese workers. But international commerce still supports tens of millions of jobs in China. Although it is less important to the economy than it was, trade accounts for almost 40% of Chinese GDP vs. less than 30% in the U.S.

Debt is another source of Chinese weakness. Its economy has been slowing down for several years, and its government has tried to manage the pace of deceleration by providing large amounts of credit. Heavy spending by the government and state-owned companies have pushed debt levels to dangerous new heights. In June the Institute of International Finance, a Washington-based trade group, estimated that China's total debt is now more than 304% of GDP—an unprecedented figure for a country at China's low level of income per person.

China has also lost some of its most important advantages. Thanks to technology, labor alone no longer generates the same amount of capital it once did. At the same time, Chinese labor is getting more expensive. Consulting firm Oxford Economics estimated recently that China's unit labor costs were just 4% lower than those in the U.S. It's now cheaper to pay factory workers in Japan than in China, per unit of output.

This is an especially delicate moment for China, as a once-in-five-years Party Congress this fall should replace five of seven members of the country's highest decisionmaking body and many more at other levels of its central government. It's a moment when senior Communist Party officials want to project calm confidence, shying away from fights they might not win. That said, if Chinese President Xi Jinping begins to feel like he's losing face, it will be almost impossible for him to ignore Trump's direct hits.

But there's a catch for the Trump team. If you want to be sure the near-term pain a trade battle would impose on U.S. workers will prove worthwhile in the long run, you'd better have allies—both political and military. Yet President Trump passed on an opportunity to strengthen ties with a number of Asian partners when he walked away from the enormous Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal. He encouraged NATO members to hedge their bets on Washington by allowing them to question his commitment to the Atlantic alliance. By walking away from the Paris climate accord, he allowed China's Xi to claim the high ground on global environmental activism.

President Trump must also understand that China will do its best to target U.S. companies and industries based in states with high concentrations of voters that are part of his political base. China's leaders can read an electoral map, and they know how to hit Trump where it hurts most.

So, yes, the U.S. can win a trade war with China. That doesn't make it a good idea. □

VERBATIM

'The future of Shondaland at Netflix has limitless possibilities.'

SHONDA RHIMES, creator of hit shows *Grey's Anatomy* and *Scandal*, on her multiyear production deal to make television for the streaming service instead of broadcast network ABC



BOOK IN BRIEF

A new look at the next generation

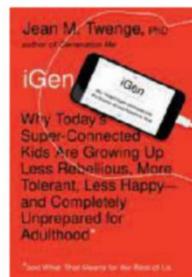
KIDS THESE DAYS: THEY'RE IMMATURE for their age, obsessed with their phones and more comfortable texting than talking. In her new book *iGen*, psychology professor Jean M. Twenge (who has previously written a book about millennials, *Generation Me*) retreats much of this territory. But perhaps her most surprising finding is that those born since 1995 are obsessed with safety. *iGen*'ers are "less likely to go out without their parents," she writes, and less likely to agree with statements like "I like to test myself every now and then

by doing something a little risky."

They're safer drivers, with fewer accidents and tickets, and they are half as likely as Gen X-ers to get in a car with a driver who's been drinking.

And yet, "*iGen*'ers seem terrified—not just of physical dangers but of the emotional dangers of adult social interaction," Twenge writes. Their caution may help keep them safe, she finds. But it also makes them vulnerable.

—SARAH BEGLEY



CHARTOON

Science vs. religion



searches for answers
strict laws and practices
lectures
big, heavy books
long coats
blows stuff up
says God is man-made



searches for answers
strict laws and practices
lectures
big, heavy books
long robes
blows stuff up
says man is God-made

JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

SNAPSHOT

World's longest suspension footbridge

The newest place to hike in the Alps isn't a mountain—it's a suspension bridge. The longest pedestrian bridge of its kind just opened in Switzerland, running 1,621 ft. over a valley between the towns of Zermatt and Grächen. Swissrope designed the structure to be higher (and therefore longer) than its predecessor, which was destroyed by tumbling rocks in a 2010 avalanche. At its highest point, the bridge soars 279 ft.—some 30 stories—above the ground, which is the deepest valley in the country. Since the floor is made of a metal grate less than 26 in. wide, the experience may not be for everybody. It is, however, three to four hours faster than the path on the ground. Just don't try it in a storm, Zermatt's tourism officials warned, citing lightning.

—Julia Zorthian

**HISTORY**

The scoop on ice cream's health-food origins

ICE CREAM THAT IS MARKETED AS A healthy choice is all the rage. But while products like Halo Top—this summer the lower-calorie brand became the nation's top-selling pint—are relatively new, ice cream has a long history of pitching itself as a health food.

As far back as the 18th century, Italian physician Filippo Baldini recommended eating cinnamon ice cream to relieve aches, chocolate to feel happier and lemon to settle upset stomachs, according to Laura B. Weiss' *Ice Cream: A Global History*. Then, starting in the mid-19th century, drugstore soda fountains offered up ice-cream sodas as a "chaser" of sorts to make medicine more palatable. (Many of those medicines—arsenic, cocaine and strychnine—would also not be considered healthy today.) Temperance activists pushed ice-cream parlors as

alternatives to saloons, further accentuating the sweet's wholesome image. And in 1921 the *Evening Missourian* urged readers to eat it daily by arguing that "one quart contains the same amount of protein as half a dozen eggs or two pounds of beefsteak."

By the 1990s, as doctors told Americans to cut back on fat, ice cream developed a bad rap. But today—even beyond low-cal versions—it may be moving back into the category of treats that, within moderation, taste good but don't have to make you feel bad. Research suggests that dairy fat is better for you than once thought, says Amy Ettinger, author of *Sweet Spot: An Ice Cream Binge Across America*, which means "ice cream sales are back on the upswing." —OLIVIA B. WAXMAN



**DATA
THIS
JUST IN**

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week's most talked-about studies:

1

MORE MEN ARE USING CONDOMS

New data from the National Center for Health Statistics shows 33.7% of men polled between 2011 and '15 said they used a condom the last time they had sex, up from 29.5% of men who said the same in 2002.

2

AMERICANS, ESPECIALLY WOMEN, ARE DRINKING MORE ALCOHOL

A study in *JAMA Psychiatry* that compared data from 2001–2002 with data from 2012–2013 found that more Americans are drinking more alcohol. In that time, the prevalence of alcohol-use disorder increased nearly 84% for women, compared with an increase of 35% for men.

3

TAI CHI CAN HELP OLDER PEOPLE PREVENT FALLING

An investigation in the *Journal of the American Geriatrics Society* found that tai chi reduced older people's rate of falls by 43% within the first year of learning the practice, compared with other interventions such as physical therapy.

—J.Z.

Aaron Judge sizes up as baseball's best new hope

By Sean Gregory

RARELY DO NACHOS MAKE DREAMS COME TRUE, NO MATTER how good the guacamole. But while Maria Baez was on her way to a Yankee Stadium concession stand one recent evening, a team employee offered her a spot in the Judge's Chambers, a section of seats behind the right-field fence reserved for fans of the towering phenom Aaron Judge. Thanks to the young slugger's head-spinning power at the plate—he entered mid-August leading the American League in home runs despite a recent slump—the invite-only cheering section has become New York City's most coveted ticket since *Hamilton*. Clad in a team-issued black robe and waving a foam gavel, Baez was so eager to join the fray that she gave up on her nachos. "I was so excited," she says, "I didn't want to eat anymore."

This is heady stuff for a 25-year-old rookie. But baseball has never seen a player quite like Judge. He is built more like a football or basketball player—indeed, he is the first position player in Major League Baseball to be 6 ft. 7 in. and weigh at least 280 lb. But all of that would amount to little if Judge weren't also one of the game's best power hitters. In a season that's on pace to set a record for home runs, Judge stands out for the distance and ferocity of his blasts. Take, for example, a story that MLB commissioner Rob Manfred recalled to TIME: before the Home Run Derby on July 10, Manfred was discussing with a Miami Marlins executive the ground rules for a ball hitting the roof of the retractable stadium in Miami. The executive said that no one had ever done it before, and stadium engineers had used NASA calculations to determine a roof height that they felt no baseball could possibly reach. As if on cue, Judge, who was taking batting practice, smacked a ball off the ceiling. He did it again during the competition, which he won with an electric display of brawn. "This is the stuff of Paul Bunyan legend," says Manfred.

Ever since Derek Jeter hung up his spikes in 2014, baseball has thirsted for a transcendent personality with broader cultural resonance. If basketball has LeBron James and Tom Brady carries football, who is baseball's brightest light? Los Angeles Angels slugger Mike Trout and Washington Nationals star Bryce Harper are far more accomplished than Judge—but neither have fully broken through. Nor do they have the benefit of playing in the nation's largest media market, for the sport's most storied franchise.

"I do think it's important to have a player that fans, no matter what market they're in, gravitate to as the face of the game," Manfred says. "We're in an interesting phase, where we have a really talented group, and people are kind of watching to decide who steps forward to claim that mantle."

JUDGE HAILS FROM Linden, Calif., a close-knit farming community of about 1,800 people some 40 miles southeast of Sacramento. "There were no strangers in that town," Judge says of his upbringing. He was raised by adoptive parents, retired



TALE OF THE TAPE

6 ft. 7 in., 282 lb.

Judge's dimensions, making him the largest position player in the major leagues

495 ft.

Distance of Judge's June 11 home run off Baltimore Orioles pitcher Logan Verrett, the longest moonshot in the majors this year

17

Judge's shoe size; colleges such as Notre Dame and Stanford recruited him to play football

and more chances for mechanical glitches. Judge, however, has a compact motion with little wasted movement. The Yankees drafted him No. 32 overall in 2013 and called him up to the big leagues last August. He slugged a homer in his first at bat, then struggled the rest of the way, hitting just .179.

Turns out that was not a sign. In his first full major-league season, Judge slammed 30 homers before the All-Star break, breaking Joe DiMaggio's season record for Yankees rookies. He's hit the four hardest home runs of the season so far, as measured by exit velocity off the bat, as well as the longest: a 495-footer in June. He has helped vault the Yankees into the playoff race and make the team's games appointment TV. Viewership for Yankees games on the YES Network is up 57% this year.

Like the Yankees' most recent legend, Judge has taken a studied approach to the spotlight. Even during a second-half slump—as of Aug. 15, Judge had struck out at least once in 32 straight games, tying a major league record—he has remained polite and avoided controversy. “Aaron and Derek carry themselves in a very similar way,” says ESPN analyst Mark Teixeira, who played with Jeter for six seasons.

Judge will let his blasts do the talking. “It’s just like Stephen Curry,” says TBS analyst Gary Sheffield, who spent three seasons with the Yankees in the mid-2000s. “When Curry hits a three-pointer from near half-court, it’s much sexier than a regular three. Aaron Judge is hitting balls to places we’ve never seen.”

If the expectations are weighing on Judge, he’s not letting on. “The big thing for me this year is having blinders on,” says Judge. “It’s tough. There’s a lot of noise. But that’s the thing, you’ve got to be mentally strong enough to fight through that noise.”

The entire sport should be happy if he does. □

teachers Wayne and Patty Judge, and starred in baseball, football and basketball at Linden High School. Notre Dame, UCLA and Stanford wanted him to play football, but he spurned them for a partial scholarship to play baseball at Fresno State. “There was some doubt,” Judge tells TIME. “I thought about going the football route. But I saw myself having fun playing baseball for the rest of my life.”

It was a risky decision. Taller hitters tend to struggle at the plate—one reason that players Judge’s height tend to be pitchers. A longer swing gives tall hitters less time to catch up with fastballs

FIVE TEAMS TO WATCH DOWN THE STRETCH

DODGERS DUE

They’ve reached the playoffs four straight years without a World Series. This season L.A. has the best record in the bigs and just added ace pitcher Yu Darvish. It’s title or bust in La La Land.



ROCKIES ROAD

Colorado’s young starting pitchers haven’t solved Coors Field, where balls soar into the thin air. But they’ve done enough to position the team for its first playoff berth since 2009.



CUBS ROLL

Since cutting ties with a divisive player, the defending champions reclaimed first place—and have the talent to bring another trophy to Chicago.



ROYALS RUN

This is the last chance for the team that won the title in ‘15—many of its core veterans are free agents after the season and likely to leave for big paydays.



ASTROS HYPE

Young stars like Jose Altuve powered Houston to the best record in the American League. But its weak division invites doubters.





THE TRIGGER
White nationalists bearing torches converge on the grounds of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville on Aug. 11

PHOTOGRAPH
BY EDU BAYER

HATE IN AMERICA

SPECIAL REPORT



RADICAL
AGENDA

WILL THE NATION SUCCEED WHERE THE PRESIDENT FAILED?

BY NANCY GIBBS

Just after midnight on Nov. 4, 2008, the U.S.'s first African-American President-elect stood in Chicago's Grant Park with a challenge to the country: "If there is anyone out there," Barack Obama said, "who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time, who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer."

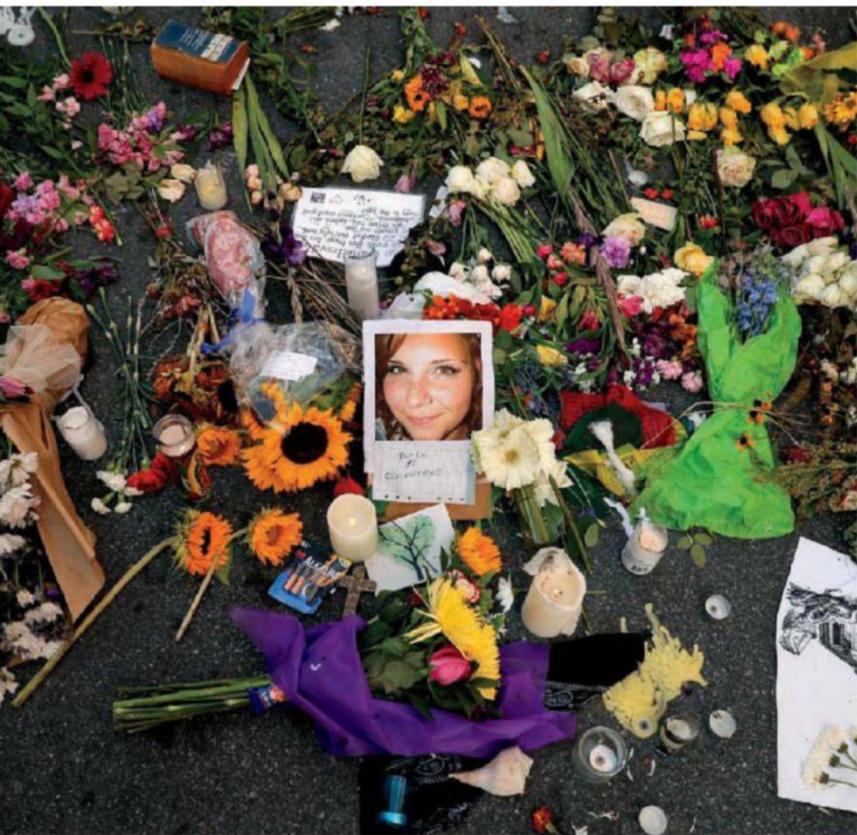
But it was just one answer, to be followed by many more from all quarters, including precincts that once kept their poisons private. This is a story as old as America itself, this serial reckoning with the dreams of our founders, and our record in living up to them. Ours is still an imperfect union, bound by the belief that we can always do better.

Those who lit the torches in Charlottesville reject both voters and Presidents of all shades other than white, and so they came to "take our country back." This was not the first violent nationalist clash, but it was destructive and deadly, widely seen and shared, and it comes at a moment when you can practically feel underfoot the hardening soil of our common ground. The motley fascists and their extended klan could hardly have picked a more storied stage than Thomas Jefferson's temple of enlightenment, the University of Virginia, nor a more perfect sword than flagpoles, weaponizing the very pillars that hold up our national ideals. And even as activists looked for more Confederate statues to pull down, and the so-called alt-right promised more torches, more marches, more mayhem, it felt like an awakening, and a time for everyone to take a side.

Having long petted and pampered the demons of racial politics, President Trump should have known his response would get maximum attention. Most successful leaders, certainly most Presidents, preach an American gospel about freedom, justice, imagination, ambition. They invoke enduring values in the service of both achieving goals and healing wounds. But that is not this President's liturgy. Instead of summoning our better angels, he strums deep chords of grievance and resentment: The world is not a community; it's a business. If you're not winning, you're losing. And anyone who invests in a common good or a shared sacrifice is a sucker.

Trump delights in deriding those who displease him; he can hurl lightning bolts with a single tweet. Yet the wan flickers of disapproval he expressed from his golf club over the weekend signaled the opposite of outrage, and his rebuke on Aug. 14 of the KKK and neo-fascists looked like a hostage video. On Aug. 15, he appeared more authentically appalled by the counterprotesters, more concerned about the "very fine people" objecting to statues being removed than the woman who was killed. Past Presidents risked everything to fight the Nazis; this one provided them cover.

The country would have to look elsewhere for moral leadership and practical guidance. Both the event and the President's response brought swift and sharp reactions from right and left, from Republican leaders and lawmakers, from clerics and scholars and CEOs. On the Monday after the Charlottesville violence, a crowd in Durham, N.C., toppled the bronze Confederate Soldiers Monument in what they called an



“emergency protest.” The mayor of Baltimore ordered that Confederate monuments disappear overnight, while statues were vandalized in cities from Louisville, Ky., to Tampa. As photos of the Charlottesville violence spread on social media, families erupted in their own civil wars: a North Dakota father said his youngest son, identified as a white nationalist, “is not welcome at our family gatherings any longer.” Facebook deleted Unite the Right’s event page.

Across the divide, white nationalist leader Richard Spencer vowed to return to Charlottesville—“There is no way in hell that I am not going back,” he said—while former Klan leader David Duke praised Trump for his “honesty & courage.” A White Lives Matter rally scheduled for Texas A&M was canceled out of concern for the safety of the community, but a group called Patriot Prayer has a permit for a protest in San Francisco on Aug. 26, a No to Marxism in America rally is planned in Berkeley, Calif., and other groups promised more and bigger gatherings to come. One Florida lawyer who attended the Charlottesville rally says he plans to run for U.S. Senate.

THAT MUCH OF THE BATTLE is focused on the past is fitting, even though this fight is about the future. Throughout our history, America has run on the voltage generated by competing ideas, the enduring debate over the proper balance between liberty and security, equality and opportunity, individual rights and the common good. No king, no council of elders, dictated an American belief system:

IN MEMORIAM

A makeshift memorial at the spot where Heather Heyer died in Charlottesville on Aug. 12

we are united by our right to pursue happiness in every manner that does not get in each other’s way. That raucous American argument has been eagerly joined by generations of immigrants seeking the freedom to carve their own destiny, sharpened by the ideas of rebels and visionaries and misfits who have Made America Great, over and over again.

But all that fervor and friction, even as they lifted America from a clumsy collection of mismatched colonies to a global political and economic superpower, still required a shared embrace of those inalienable rights, above all the sanctity of freedom and ideal of equality. That’s the power and the price of being a country defined not by a faith or a race or an ethnic heritage but by an idea. And it is fundamental American ideas that Trump has ducked from the start, tapping instead the tribal power of the arrogant and the aggrieved, emboldening racists who want to claim him as their champion and activating a resistance that sees him giving cover to a rising threat from those who aspire to “take our country back.”

The divisions are now as physical as they are emotional and intellectual: in the 2016 election, of America’s 3,113 counties, just 303 went to either candidate by 10 points or fewer; 1,196 saw landslides of 50 points or more. We have self-sorted into private pockets of affirmation, and where we live shapes what we believe. “These days, Democrats and Republicans no longer stop at disagreeing with each other’s ideas,” argues Paul Taylor of the Pew Research Center. “Many in each party now deny the other’s facts, disapprove of each other’s lifestyles, avoid each other’s neighborhoods, impugn each other’s motives, doubt each other’s patriotism, can’t stomach each other’s news sources and bring different value systems to such core social institutions as religion, marriage and parenthood. It’s as if they belong not to rival parties but alien tribes.”

During his campaign, Trump engaged and inspired millions of voters who had given up on government and were desperate for a new vision, a new voice. Their needs are real and urgent, and have been largely ignored as the President reduced the office to a vanity plate. He has shown how little loyalty he feels to friends and allies who honor some principle higher than his self-interest. In the aftermath of Charlottesville, we saw the reverse: we saw his reluctance to turn away from people who admire him, claim him, even if they do so in the name of beliefs that Americans have died fighting to defeat. There will be more marches, more clashes and, if the white supremacist leaders are right, more lives lost before this latest battle for the nation’s soul resolves. But it is a historic shame and sorrow that so few Americans can come to that struggle with the faith that their President is on their side. □





IMPACT

A car barrels into a group demonstrating against the Unite the Right rally in Charlottesville on Aug. 12; one woman was killed

PHOTOGRAPH
BY RYAN M. KELLY

BIGOTS, BOOSTED BY THE BULLY PULPIT

BY MICHAEL SCHERER AND ALEX ALTMAN

Nearly alone among the nation's elected leaders, President Trump saw a nobility of purpose in the fiery procession that began a weekend of street fights in Charlottesville, Va. White nationalists hoisted tiki torches that recalled the horrifying imagery of the Ku Klux Klan. They revived an old Nazi chant—

"Blood and Soil"—which had been silenced in 1945 with American blood on German soil. And they mixed in a new anti-Semitic taunt, "Jews will not replace us," meant to declare unity of the white race.

But to the President, those details did not tell the whole story. Marching with the racists, fascists and separatists, he argued, were some "very fine people" with a worthy mission. "Not all of those people were neo-Nazis, believe me," he said on Aug. 15 at a press conference in the lobby of Trump Tower. "Not all of those people were white supremacists. Those people were also there because they wanted to protest the taking down of the statue of Robert E. Lee."

The Confederate general has sat on his horse in Charlottesville's Emancipation Park (formerly Lee Park) since 1924, when monuments were going up across the South in celebration of post-Reconstruction revival amid the ongoing injustice of Jim Crow segregation. To Trump, calls for the statue's removal were the start of a slippery slope that threatened to undermine the nation's history and culture. "I wonder, is it George Washington next week? And is it Thomas Jefferson the week after?" he asked reporters at the event, conflating the nation's founders with rebels who fought to divide it. "You really do have to ask yourself, Where does it stop?"

That is a question many Americans found themselves asking in the days after the violent melees claimed the life of Heather Heyer, a 32-year-old paralegal, and injured more than 30 others. In the face of a fatal riot instigated by bigots—the largest demonstration of white power in at least a decade—here was a President defending the gathering, legitimizing a hateful ideology in the process. He decried racism and bigotry, but also blamed liberal counterprotesters, some of whom had come armed with sticks and mace, as equally culpable for the violence. Then he alleged a conspiracy in the press to avoid naming all the aggressors. "You had a group on one side that was bad, and you had a group on the other side that was also very violent," he said. "Nobody wants to say that, but I will say it right now."

The off-the-cuff press conference didn't just throw a wrench in the weary White House damage-control operation. It swept away any lingering delusions that Trump will harness the high office to unify a bitterly divided country. American Presidents have often sought to seize the aftermath of a national tragedy to rally the nation together and point us beyond our history. This is the impulse that guided Ronald Reagan after the *Challenger* explosion, Bill Clinton after the Oklahoma City bombing, George W. Bush after Sept. 11 and Barack Obama after the Charleston church shooting. But that is not Trump. Asked whether he would heed presidential custom by visiting the site of the tragedy, Trump replied that he owned a very large winery near Charlottesville.



His response was panned as a missed opportunity and massive error, not just by his foes but by scores of Republicans. It led Trump on Aug. 16 to preemptively dissolve two separate advisory councils of top CEOs after a string of resignations. But his stance was no accident. It was a reminder that in some ways, Trump sees the world in the same us-against-them tones that inform his most racist supporters. Throughout his business career, he used racial and ethnic divisions to his advantage. He sees the cultural norms that seek to minimize racial strife as “politically correct” barriers to free expression. Trump declared during the presidential campaign that an American with Mexican-born parents could not fairly adjudicate a case in which Trump was a party because of his immigration policies. On the campaign trail, he recited lyrics to a song that compared Muslim refugees to venomous snakes. Now, in the Oval Office, he is using the pulpit to tolerate and fan tribal grievance.

In the immediate aftermath of the

STRENGTH IN NUMBERS
Unite the Right activists from across the country gathered to protest the removal of a Confederate statue

violence in Charlottesville, Trump pledged to “heal the wounds of our country.” Less than 48 hours later, he called reporters who asked about his refusal to specifically condemn the racism “truly bad people.” And he lashed out at others who came forward to criticize him. Trump’s longtime political Svengali Roger Stone has a maxim: “Politics is not about uniting people,” he told the *New Yorker* in 2008. “It’s about dividing people. And getting your 51%.”

That is not so far from the methods and goals of a revitalized white-nationalist movement, which sees in Trump a welcome partner. “Thank you President Trump for your honesty & courage to tell the truth about #Charlottesville,” tweeted David Duke, a former Grand Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, whose current ambition,

like many at the rally, is the creation of an all-white American ethnate.

IF THERE IS a central theme to Trump’s first months in office, it has been his inability to adapt his demagogic impulses to his vast new responsibilities. At times, he will contain those instincts at the advice of his aides. Two days after the violence in Charlottesville, he stood before a teleprompter in the basement of the White House with a clear message of blame. “Racism is evil,” he declared with the enthusiasm of a hostage victim. But such staged moments rarely last; hours later he tweeted regrets, writing that his critics “will never be satisfied.” Then, just days after vehicular terrorism in Charlottesville killed a young woman, the President retweeted a photo of a train running over a man with the CNN logo on his face. (He later deleted it.)

All of which delights the angry white torchbearers. The new faces of American hate are now more likely to be a college-educated Internet trolls than goose-



STREET FIGHTS

As police tried to clear the streets on Aug. 12, counterprotesters beat protesters in Charlottesville

PHOTOGRAPH BY
MARK ABRAMSON



stepping skinheads. Instead of robes or hoods, they favor natty suits and New Balance sneakers, white polos and khaki pants. Dubbed the alt-right, they are a constellation of groups that organize online, delight in ironic and coded forms of communication, and typically have little actual influence outside of anonymous message boards and the comments section of revisionist YouTube videos that declare Adolf Hitler's greatness.

Among this new racist right inspiration often comes from European fascist groups like Golden Dawn in Greece, the neo-Nazi Nordic Resistance Movement and the ultranationalist Russian philosopher Alexander Dugin, a close ally of Vladimir Putin's. Their anger is directed at what they see as the dwindling fortunes of the white working class in America—an idea that the President has homed in on as well.

Charlottesville was meant as a coming-out party for this loose collection of furies, and in that narrow way it was a success. Even in its wake, the organizers were denying that they had anything to do with the racist terrorism of the past. When Trump finally called out some of the groups that wreaked havoc in the leafy college town, members of the movement wrote off the rebuke as meant for others. "Perfect!" wrote a prominent white-nationalist YouTube broadcaster who evangelizes under the Twitter name Wife With a Purpose. "Since the Alt Right and #UniteTheRight are neither Nazis, KKK or white supremacists, there's no issue then." This same activist has issued a national "white baby challenge," arguing that increased Caucasian fertility is the best way to fight "black ghetto culture."

The themes that protesters pointed to were often ones that Trump has harped on. Many said they were radicalized in recent years by the Black Lives Matter movement and the protests spawned by the deaths of Trayvon Martin and Michael Brown, which catalyzed a kind of status anxiety. According to a Washington Post/Kaiser Family Foundation poll from the spring, 28% of the country believes that whites losing out because of minority preferences is a bigger problem than minorities losing out because of white preferences. Among those who "strongly approve" of Trump, 46% say that whites losing out is the bigger concern. "It was



inevitable that it would finally dawn on whites that we are being dismantled," says Jared Taylor, head of the white-nationalist group American Renaissance. "We don't wish to be replaced."

The rally in Charlottesville, called Unite the Right, was organized by Jason Kessler, a native of the city who runs an obscure group called Unity and Security for America, which advocates for immigration policies that favor whites. Among the allies on the ground were Vanguard America, which calls itself the "face of American fascism" and traffics

NO APOLOGY

President Trump speaks with reporters on Aug. 15 after denouncing violence on "both sides" in Charlottesville

in slogans like FREE YOURSELF, WHITE MAN. There were representatives from Identity Evropa, which espouses white separatism; members of the Traditionalist Worker Party, which is led by white supremacist Matthew Heimbach and runs candidates for local office; and representatives from the League of the South, who brandished Confederate flags.

For this network of white grievance, Trump has been a godsend. "Finally someone at the level of presidential politics is speaking their language," explains Lawrence Rosenthal, chair of the Center for Right-Wing Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. "This was a provi-

**RACIAL POLITICS HAVE
ALWAYS BEEN CENTRAL
TO TRUMP'S BRAND**



Trump's main selling point was a pledge to demolish the accepted barriers of political conduct. "We have to be mean now," he would say. That meanness often overlapped with messages of white-nationalist groups that argue that there are essential differences among races that make a diverse society unworkable. In early January 2016, at a rally in Iowa, Trump debuted a new feature of his stump speech, reading the lyrics of a 1960s pop song called "The Snake," which Trump turned into an allegory for the danger posed by Muslim immigration. The point of the story is that there was something fundamentally malicious about snakes, and by extension Muslims. "You knew damn well I was a snake before you took me in," the snake tells a "tenderhearted woman" at the narrative's climax, after he has given her a "vicious bite."

Flirting with the fringes of the racist right became a running theme. When asked about the support of former KKK leader Duke by CNN, Trump declined to distance himself for several days. When he later retweeted a racist meme with false statistics about black crime rates against whites, he refused to correct the information. "It's for other people," he told TIME. "Let them find out if it's correct or not."

At other times, he retweeted supporters who openly espoused white-nationalist beliefs, only to have his staff members claim that he had no idea who they were. Asked by TIME in 2015 if his campaign rhetoric could lead to innocent people getting hurt, Trump responded with a sense of victimization similar to what drove so many young men to march in Charlottesville. "People are getting hurt far greater," he responded, "than something I am going to say."

TRUMP'S BEHAVIOR marks a major break from traditional Republican conservatism. For two generations, most Republicans labored to maintain distance from the party's extremists. The past four popularly elected Republican Presidents all recognized in deeply personal terms how damaging the Birchers or the Bannonites could be—not only to their careers but also their cause. Traditional conservatism, the kind championed by Ronald Reagan or George W. Bush, emphasizes individual liberty, equality and economic mobility. "The relationship between Trump

and the GOP has always been awkward," says Republican strategist Alex Conant. "Most GOP members of Congress are life-long Republicans and movement conservatives. Trump is neither."

Which is what cheers the racist right. "Conservatism is committing suicide. I think it has no relevance," Richard Spencer, one of the organizers of the torch march, told TIME last year. "I care about real stuff. I care about identity." Although he didn't see Trump as "racially conscious," Spencer says now there is a connection between his group and the President "on this kind of psychic level."

White House staff members winced when the President seemed to defend such forces. Some were quick to tell reporters that the boss had been freelancing, off message. But others dispatched talking points to fellow Republicans so that the party could defend his words. "The President was entirely correct," the guidance read. "Both sides of the violence in Charlottesville acted inappropriately, and bear some responsibility."

You could intuit the GOP's reaction from the way that new White House chief of staff John Kelly hung his head in the corner of the Trump Tower lobby as the President spoke. "I don't understand what's so hard about this. White supremacists and neo-Nazis are evil and shouldn't be defended," fumed Congressman Steve Stivers of Ohio, chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee. "Mr. President, we must call evil by its name," tweeted Colorado Senator Cory Gardner, Stivers' counterpart in the Senate. "These were white supremacists and this was domestic terrorism."

The question now is what the cost of all this will be—for Trump, his party and the nation itself. The GOP has condemned Trump before. House Speaker Paul Ryan, a former Republican vice-presidential nominee, called Trump's attacks on a Hispanic judge "sort of like the textbook definition of a racist comment." When Trump won the election anyway, most of the party calculated it was better to offer grudging support than risk defying a new President with a fervent base. Trump's polls may be falling, but he has yet to suffer a lasting penalty for his decision to legitimize right-wing extremism in the country. —With reporting by ZEKE J. MILLER/WASHINGTON

dential deliverance. He mobilized them in a way that has no precedent."

Racial politics have always been central to Trump's brand. By late 2015, when he had taken the lead in Republican polls, he credited his rise to two issues that spoke directly to the concerns of white nationalists: immigration and Islamic terrorism. "I felt it like I do deals," he bragged that year, describing his sense for the fears and anger of his voters. "Immigration has boiled over into Syria." Throughout his campaign, his method was to use racial anxieties to his advantage, while periodically offering vague condemnations of racism. As Kessler put it, Trump "appeals to white people because we feel like we can compete and have a good shot at the American Dream when we don't have things like affirmative action or illegal immigration holding us back and stacking the game against us."

AMERICAN HATE, A HISTORY

BY JON MEACHAM

The message was clear. The fate of America—or at least of white America, which was the only America that counted—was at stake. On the autumn evening of Thursday, Oct. 7, 1948, South Carolina Governor Strom Thurmond, the segregationist Dixiecrat nominee for President,

addressed a crowd of 1,000 inside the University of Virginia's Cabell Hall in Charlottesville, Va. Attacking President Truman's civil rights program, one that included anti-lynching legislation and protections against racial discrimination in hiring, Thurmond denounced these moves toward racial justice, saying such measures "would undermine the American way of life and outrage the Bill of Rights." Interrupted by applause and standing ovations, Thurmond was in his element in the Old Confederacy. "I want to tell you, ladies and gentlemen," Thurmond had told the breakaway States' Rights Democratic Party at its July convention in Birmingham, Ala., "that there's not enough troops in the Army to force the Southern people to break down segregation and admit the nigra race into our theaters, into our swimming pools, into our homes, into our churches."

Seventy years on, in the heat of a Virginia August, heirs to the Dixiecrats' platform of hate and exclusion—Kluxmen, neo-Nazis and white supremacists of sundry affiliations—gathered in Charlottesville, not far from where Thurmond had taken his stand. The story is depressingly well known by now: a young counterprotester, Heather Heyer, was killed by a barreling car allegedly driven by a man who was seen marching with a neo-Nazi group. In the wake of Heyer's death, the President of the United States—himself an heir to the white populist tradition of Thurmond and of Alabama's George Wallace—flailed about, declining to directly denounce the white supremacists for nearly 48 hours. There was, he said, hate "on many sides," as if there were more than one side to a conflict between neo-Nazis who idolize Adolf Hitler and Americans who stood against Kluxmen and proto-Third Reich storm troopers. Within days Donald Trump had wondered aloud why people weren't more upset by the "alt-left," clearly identifying himself with neo-Confederate sentiment.

Perennially latent, extremist and racist nationalism tends to spike in periods of economic and social stress like ours. Americans today have little trust in government; household incomes woefully lag behind our usual middle-class expectations. As the world saw in Charlottesville—and in the alt-right universe of the Web—besieged whites, frightened of change, are seeking refuge in the one thing a shifting world cannot take away from them: the color of their skin.

If the current climate of grievance is of ancient origin, though, the white supremacists' sense of urgency—indeed of increasing legitimacy—seems new. Today's fringe sees itself not as a fringe but as the tip of the spear for the incumbent President's nationalist agenda. "We are determined to take our country back," said David Duke, former Grand Wizard of the KKK, in Charlottesville. "We are going to fulfill the promises of Donald Trump. That's what we believed in, that's why we voted



for Donald Trump. Because he said he's going to take our country back. That's what we gotta do."

Perhaps President Trump disagrees, but how to know for certain? He rose in national politics, after all, in part by questioning whether Barack Obama had been born in the U.S., thus capitalizing on, and fueling, the racist and xenophobic reaction to the election of the first African-American President. Now in power, Trump governs for his base, and the alt-right is part of that base—a fact that gives white supremacists a kind of privileged status in the tangled political thickets of Trumpland. He may denounce such groups in the end, but he tends to do so only after confounding caesuras—and even then he equivocates. Why? "Darkness is good," Trump's chief strategist, Stephen Bannon, has said.

GARDEN OF EVIL

In 1934, some 20,000 people rallied for Friends of New Germany, a U.S. Nazi group, at Madison Square Garden

When Joshua Green, the author the new book *Devil's Bargain*, asked Bannon about Hillary Clinton's 2016 attacks on Trump's popularity among white nationalists, Bannon replied, "We polled the race stuff and it doesn't matter."

But it does. To understand where we are, we need to understand the history of hate in America—a history that sheds a good deal of light on how we've reached a place in the life of the nation where a former Grand Wizard of the KKK can claim, all too plausibly, that he is at one with the will of the President of the United States.

I.

In the Shadow of Defeat: The KKK, Reconstruction and the Bolsheviks

It was Christmas Eve, 1865, in Pulaski, Tenn., barely eight months after Robert E. Lee had surrendered to Ulysses S. Grant at Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia. Gloomy about the failure of the war and anxious about Union-run Reconstruction, six former Confederates founded the Ku Klux Klan in Thomas M. Jones' law office. The organization's name was derived from *kuklos*, the Greek word for ring or circle, and featured elaborate titles, costumes and hoods fashioned from bed linens, and horseback rides through the night.

Over the next few years, the KKK, with Nathan Bedford Forrest as its Grand Wizard, grew in influence and in menace,

TRADITION KEEPER

A Ku Klux Klan member in 2015 after a Maryland cross lighting, one of the group's rituals

PHOTOGRAPH
BY PETER VAN
AGTMAEL





devoting itself to terrorizing freed African Americans and to undermining Reconstruction authorities. Put down by three federal laws in 1870 and 1871, the Klan dissipated as an active force. Yet its essential aim, the establishment of white supremacy, was achieved in ensuing years with pro-Southern Supreme Court decisions and the withdrawal of federal forces from the Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida statehouses after the disputed 1876 presidential election. That same year, future South Carolina Senator and Governor Ben Tillman, a prominent voice of white supremacy, was part of an attack on African-American Republicans at Hamburg, S.C. “The purpose of our visit was to strike terror,” Tillman recalled in a speech to the Senate in 1900. “And the next morning when the Negroes who had fled to the swamp returned to the town the ghastly sight ... of seven dead Negroes lying stark and stiff certainly had its effect.”

By the 1890s, Jim Crow laws were effectively undoing the verdict of Appomattox. In 1894, Mississippi voted to include the Confederate battle emblem on its state flag; two years later, in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Supreme Court sanctioned the principle of “separate but equal.” Within three decades of Lee’s surrender, angry and alienated Southern whites who had lost a war had successfully used terror and political inflexibility to re-create the antebellum world of American apartheid. Lynchings, church burnings and the systematic denial of access to equal education and to the ballot box were the order of the decades.

The novelist Richard Wright vividly captured the realities of life under Jim Crow. “We know that if we protest we will be called ‘bad niggers,’” Wright wrote in a book titled *Twelve Million Black Voices*. “The Lords of the Land will preach the doctrine of ‘white supremacy’ to the poor whites who are eager to form mobs. In the midst of general hysteria they will seize one of us—it does not matter who, the innocent or guilty—and, as a token, a naked and bleeding body will be dragged through the dusty streets ... The Ku Klux Klan attacks us in a thousand ways, driving our boys and girls off the jobs in the cities and keeping us who live on the land from protesting or asking too many questions.”

The white supremacists’ enmity was

not limited to blacks. During World War I and in the years after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, a resurgent Klan, boosted in part by the movie *The Birth of a Nation*, targeted immigrants, Roman Catholics and Jews. The fear was that the “huddled masses” of Emma Lazarus’ poem would destroy the America that whites had come to know. As cities swelled with people of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds—immigrants thought to be agents of a global communist conspiracy—the decline of familiar farm life gave new force to the Klan, which staged massive marches down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington in 1925 and 1926.

II.

Ashes of the Reich: The Rise of Neo-Nazism

On Thursday, Sept. 11, 1941, Charles Lindbergh—American aviation hero and leading isolationist—stepped to the microphones at an America First Committee rally in Des Moines, Iowa. He had long taken it upon himself to speak, as he had once put it, for “that silent majority of Americans who have no newspaper, or newsreel, or radio station at their command.” Now it was time, he had decided, to make himself very clear on what he saw as a critical issue facing the nation as it debated whether to go to war against Adolf Hitler: the role of American Jews. “No person with a sense of the dignity of mankind can condone the persecution of the Jewish race in Germany,” Lindbergh said in Des Moines. “But”—and the *but* here is epochal—“no person of honesty and vision can look on their pro-war policy here today without seeing the dangers involved in such a policy, both for us and for them ... Their greatest danger to this country lies in their large ownership and influence in our motion pictures, our press, our radio and our government.”

Outright Nazi sympathy was evident in America in the prewar years. “When we get through with the Jews in America,” Father Charles Coughlin, the anti-Semitic radio priest, said, “they’ll think the treatment they received in Germany was nothing.” Pro-Nazi groups held huge rallies at Madison Square Garden; one sponsored by the German-American Bund in

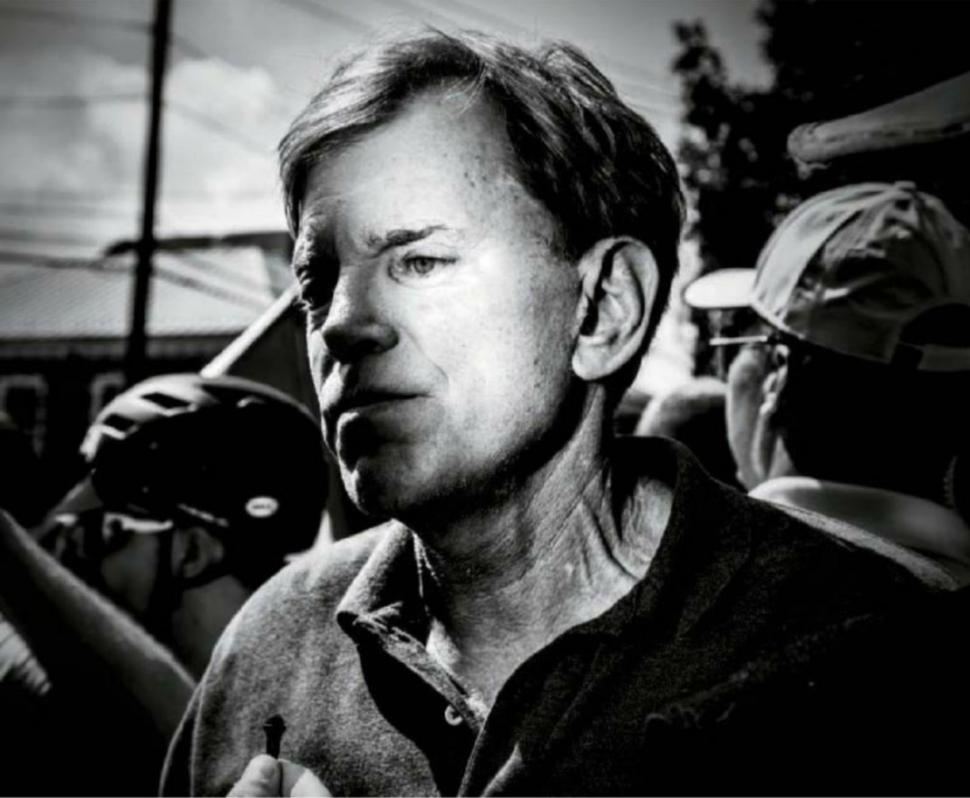
STANDING WITH THE PRESIDENT

David Duke, the white nationalist and former KKK Grand Wizard, at the Unite the Right rally on Aug. 12

February 1939 featured a 20,000-strong crowd chanting cries of “Heil Hitler.”

Isolationism was a complex phenomenon, but fear was a fairly common theme among its disparate elements: fear of entanglement; fear of sacrificing American blood and treasure for the advantage of others; fear of putting foreign demands ahead of national needs. Even after Pearl Harbor and Hitler’s declaration of war on the U.S. in December 1941, there were still those who peddled a toxic blend of anti-Semitism (which came to include Holocaust denial) and virulent anticommunism and racist ideology. Eventually, Cold War anxieties were oxygen to the flames of neo-Nazism. Just as the Klan had benefited from the fears of the 1920s after the Russian Revolution, white supremacists after World War II linked their cause with the apocalyptic rhetoric of right-wing anticommunism. These were the years of Joseph McCarthy and of the John Birch Society, of IMPEACH EARL WARREN billboards and White Citizens’ Councils. In a November 1963 lecture that formed the basis, a year later, of a *Harper’s* cover story and later a book, “The Paranoid Style in American Politics,” the historian Richard Hofstadter discerned a pattern of extreme conspiratorial theories about fundamental threats to the country.

“The paranoid spokesman ... traffics in the birth and death of whole worlds, whole political orders, whole systems of human values,” Hofstadter wrote. “He is always manning the barricades of civilization. He constantly lives at a turning point: it is now or never in organizing resistance to conspiracy.” Ranging from fears of the Bavarian Illuminati in the 1790s to the dark anxieties of the anticommunists of the 1960s, Hofstadter identified the recurrent tendency to see powerful forces at work to undermine American life or politics or, often, both. (Immigrants, Jews and international bankers were favorites.) Hofstadter’s point: there’s always a war on to make America great again, for there are always those who believe American greatness is under assault from “the other.”



III.

‘Segregation Forever’: Defiance Resurgent

In the South in particular, race, as ever, was the flash point. In 1948, when Minneapolis Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey called on the Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia to walk into the “sunshine of human rights,” Thurmond and his fellow segregationists marched out of the hall, went South and met at Birmingham to form the Dixiecrat ticket. Worried about communists and civil rights—President Truman integrated the military the same month as the Dixiecrat rebellion—the disaffected began to carry Confederate battle flags to rallies, seeking to link their cause with the Lost one.

After the school-integration decisions of the mid-1950s, defiance was pervasive. Georgia incorporated the Confederate battle emblem into its flag in 1956, and South Carolina hoisted the Confederate colors over its Capitol in 1961. By 1964, Alabama Governor George Wallace, the man who had promised “segregation

forever,” was taking a Southern white populism to the national stage.

Wallace brought something intriguing to the modern politics of hate in America: a visceral connection to his crowds, an appeal that confounded elites. The cigar-chewing bantam figure with slicked-back hair was “simply more alive than all the others,” a female journalist told the writer Marshall Frady, a Wallace biographer. Alluding to a Wallace speech in New Hampshire, the woman continued, “You saw those people in that auditorium while he was speaking—you saw their eyes. He made those people feel something real for once in their lives. You can’t help but respond to him. Me—my heart was pounding. I couldn’t take my eyes off him, there were all those people screaming. You almost love him, though you know what a little gremlin he actually is.”

IV.

In Our Time

Hate will be with us always, but it need not become a defining feature of a given era. In 1995, when Timothy McVeigh

bombed the federal building in Oklahoma City, leaders of both major parties stood up. “Let us let our own children know that we will stand against the forces of fear,” President Clinton told mourners. “When there is talk of hatred, let us stand up and talk against it. When there is talk of violence, let us stand up and talk against it. In the face of death, let us honor life.” In those dark weeks, the National Rifle Association defended a recent fundraising letter that targeted not the murderers of innocents but federal agents the gun lobby’s leadership derided as “jackbooted Government thugs.” Reading the missive, former President George H.W. Bush, a life member, resigned from the group. “To attack Secret Service agents or A.T.F. people or any government law enforcement people as ‘wearing Nazi bucket helmets and black storm-trooper uniforms’ wanting to ‘attack law-abiding citizens,’” Bush wrote, “is a vicious slander on good people.” The same spirit animated George W. Bush when, six years later, he insisted that America’s war on terror was not a war against all of Islam. “The terrorists,” Bush 43 said, “are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself.”

Such presidential grace can be crucial in ameliorating moments of virulence and violence. We tend to be more likely to choose the right path when we’re encouraged to do so from the very top. Franklin D. Roosevelt once observed that the presidency is “pre-eminently a place of moral leadership,” and the country has come to look to the White House for a steady hand in stormy times of unease and vitriol.

At the moment, we look in vain. Going forward, white supremacists are likely to repeat the strategy of Charlottesville. The march last weekend was ostensibly about demonstrating support for a Robert E. Lee memorial that’s slated for removal. Now freshly emboldened, organizers are planning demonstrations in Boston and San Francisco, and in the South the sheer number of Confederate memorials offer white nationalists a target-rich environment. Old times are truly not forgotten, and it seems safe to say that they won’t be anytime soon. At least not in Trump’s America. —With reporting by ABIGAIL ABRAMS/NEW YORK □

WHAT WHITE AMERICA MUST DO NEXT

BY EDDIE S. GLAUDE JR.

Saturday, Aug. 12, will go down as a dark day for America. In Charlottesville, Va., young and old donned swastikas. White militia, many openly carrying weapons, set out to “protect” the demonstrators. Angry men and women screamed vile and racist slogans. Violence broke out with counterprotesters.

Then, according to authorities, James Alex Fields Jr. plowed his car into a peaceful crowd protesting the racist spectacle. Heather Heyer was killed, and 19 people were injured. Cornel West, who joined the counterprotests with a group of clergy, witnessed it all and told me, “I have never seen this kind of hatred.”

If these were normal times, even if you believed a press conference to be typical American racial theater, you’d expect the President of the United States to condemn unequivocally the hatred and bigotry of the white nationalists gathered in Charlottesville. But these aren’t normal times.

Instead, Donald Trump offered a mealmouthed response: “We condemn in the strongest possible terms this egregious display of hatred, bigotry and violence on many sides, on many sides.”

Trump did not mention white supremacy or single out white nationalists. He only offered a general condemnation based on a false equivalence: that somehow what we witnessed in Charlottesville was the same as protests at the University of California, Berkeley, or in Ferguson, Mo., or in Baltimore. As if what came out of the mouths of these white “thugs” is equivalent to the principles espoused by those who dared to stand up to them.

IT IS AN OLD MOVE, really. A rhetorical sleight of hand meant to trap the critic in a corner and to hide the speaker’s true intent. Black people have seen it since the first moment we called attention to this country’s hypocrisy. In this case, Trump did not want to condemn the white nationalists in Charlottesville because they are on his side.

These people, as David Duke reminded the President, helped elect him. Steve Bannon, Stephen Miller, Sebastian Gorka and Jefferson Beauregard Sessions III represent these people. And if The Daily Stormer, a white-nationalist website, is any indication, these people are quite satisfied with what Trump said: “He said he loves us all . . . No condemnation at all. Really, really good. God bless him.”

Of course, many politicians and



pundits (myself included) were quick to condemn Trump. Former Vice President Joe Biden tweeted, “There is only one side. #charlottesville.” Joe Scarborough tweeted, “Mr. President, call it by its name! ‘WHITE SUPREMACIST TERRORISM.’” Senator Jeff Flake of Arizona tweeted, “The #WhiteSupremacy in #Charlottesville does not reflect the values of the America I know. Hate and bigotry have no place in this country.” Ivanka Trump’s eventual tweets sounded similar. But these condemnations all seem a little too easy to me. No matter their intentions, they smack of a certain kind of sentimentality. As James Baldwin noted, sentimentality is “the mark of dishonesty … the mask of cruelty.”

It is easy to condemn Trump and the white nationalists who participated in the rally—to say that they are the bad people. But we give them life. What about the racially coded language that exploits white fears and has defined our political discourse for generations?

These rabid racists shout their Nazi slogans, defend Confederate monuments and declare that America is a white nation—while politicians on both sides of the aisle trade in the myth that Trump’s election was a backlash of the white working class, as if what is happening to white workers is somehow distinct from and more important than what is happening to workers of color. As if we are the reasons life has gotten so much harder for white working people in this country.

ASK YOURSELVES: CAN YOU TRULY GIVE UP THE IDEA THAT THIS IS A WHITE NATION?

BATTLE FLAG

A Unite the Right protester drapes himself in a Confederate flag during a KKK rally in Charlottesville, Va., on July 8, 2017.

THE IRONY, OF COURSE, is that this so-called Rust Belt rebellion isn’t true. A higher percentage of Trump voters than Clinton voters earned over \$100,000 a year. Moreover, several studies have shown that social issues, not economic issues, motivated the Trump voter. Trump voters worried that a particular cultural vision of America was eroding. Political affirmation on both sides of the aisle of the white working class revolt is less about the economic devastation of workers and more about white identity—with black and brown folk and immigrants as the scapegoats.

These white nationalists say they want to take back their country as members of Congress push draconian immigration policies that will ensure this nation remains a white nation. It is easy to condemn the violence of these white supremacists as politicians debate the logistics of a return to a regime of policing that has devastated black and brown communities, or challenge affirmative action because supposedly black and brown students are taking the slots of white students, or seek to disenfranchise millions of our fellow citizens under the guise of voter fraud. These politicians all seem to be on Trump’s side.

Such views give oxygen to white supremacy’s blazing fire. And such views have animated American politics as long as I can remember. Trump’s election has inflamed and emboldened those who embrace them. Now we have to confront honestly this fact: the white nationalists in Charlottesville, and every other town, are as native to American soil as sagebrush and buffalo grass. What is required of white America now is something much more than a sentimental condemnation of that fact. Ask yourselves: Can you truly give up the idea that this is a white nation? Can you imagine this country as a truly multiracial democracy? Or are you willing to cast this fragile experiment into the trash bin of history, because you refuse to have it any other way?

Glaude is chair of the department of African-American studies at Princeton and author of Democracy in Black

A TOWN VIOLATED

BY JOHN GRISHAM

Charlottesville is a quiet town with friendly people, good schools, lots of churches, parks and a bustling, growing community that more or less revolves around one of the country's great public universities. Volunteerism is rampant, and dozens of nonprofits hustle about, solving problems and helping those in need. The town is surrounded by the estate and horse country of central Virginia, where history and traditions are important. Change is important too. The town has a vibrant music, theater, art and literary culture where creativity is encouraged. Food and wine are taken seriously, with dozens of vineyards and trendy restaurants.

The downtown pedestrian mall is filled with these restaurants, as well as coffee shops, bars, outdoor cafés, music halls, bookstores, galleries. It's peaceful, calm, lovely, civilized. It's Charlottesville.

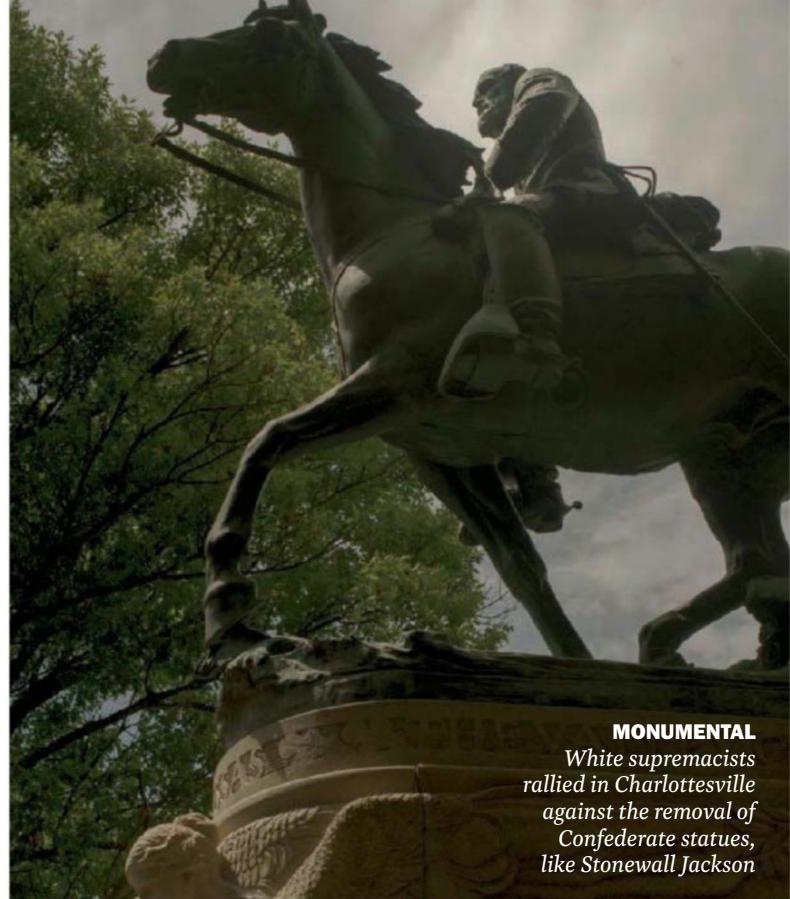
The weekend of Aug. 12, Charlottesville was violated.

These same downtown streets where I work and have lunch and dinner and meet friends were taken over by hooligans and white supremacists who for some reason chose Charlottesville as their battleground.

Who were these people? And why our town?

Now that we've seen them, and from a distance much closer than any of us could have imagined, we may have a clearer understanding of their motives. Ostensibly, they came here to "Unite the Right," a nefarious idea that devolved into a call to action. They were upset because of the city council's controversial decision to remove a Confederate monument from a city park.

These dime-store warriors arrived in Charlottesville over the weekend determined to glorify the Confederacy and defend their version of free speech, though I seriously doubt even one in a thousand has read the Constitution or could name the Southern commander at the Battle of Shiloh. They waved their rebel battle flags, oblivious to the fact that Robert E. Lee told his men to put them away. They flaunted their swastikas. They wore helmets and shields and riot gear, and they



MONUMENTAL

White supremacists rallied in Charlottesville against the removal of Confederate statues, like Stonewall Jackson

UNITY WILL TAKE GENERATIONS

BY ILHAN OMAR

rampaged. Their unapproved but well-coordinated torch-lit parade through campus Friday night surprised officials at the university.

Free speech and a glorified heritage were irrelevant. Make no mistake about it—the hate groups were here to provoke violence and get attention. When a few Klansmen showed up a month ago, they attracted hundreds of counterprotesters who drowned them out. With an impressive show of peaceful resistance, Charlottesville proved it has no tolerance for hate.

That incident was well reported and no doubt inspired the Unite the Right brain trust to plan an even bigger event. They issued the call, and their comrades came from far and wide to make trouble. They now claim they were provoked while trying to assemble peacefully, but the real provocation was their hate-filled message.

Tensions are now easing, and the streets are quiet again. Funerals are being planned. Physical wounds are healing. Emotional wounds will take longer. We hope and pray our town returns to normal—it will if left alone. But twice this summer, Charlottesville has proved that in the face of intimidation and hate, silence is not an option.

Grisham is a writer who has lived in Charlottesville for 24 years

AMERICAN HATE IS NOT NEW—AND IT IS not scarce. While Nov. 8, 2016, acted as a wake-up call for many Americans, to most people of color and indigenous people the election of President Trump served as an affirmation of our nation's divisions. We have never truly defeated hate. We merely allow it to take new forms: Nazis, the KKK, white supremacists, white nationalists—emboldened by reflective leadership—are again comfortable gathering en masse, without hoods. Take a good look, America; this is real, and it is not going away. It is painless to denounce the events in Charlottesville and to question how or why such events occur. We need to recognize that racism has never been subtle, though it has gone under-reported. This is the same fight as the civil rights movement, the Civil War—we are fighting over human rights. So the solution is not compromise.

The solution is to educate. It is imperative we collectively overcome and make amends with history. We must confront that our nation was founded by the genocide of indigenous people and on the backs of

slaves, that we maintain global power with the tenor of neocolonialism. Our failure to reconcile these facts and our failure to take overt action to correct mistakes further deepen the divide.

Our national avoidance tactic has been to shift the focus to potential international terrorism. With constant misinformation and fearmongering, it is easy to exacerbate external threats while avoiding our internal weaknesses. Our apathy has placed immense strain on society, making it difficult to move forward. And because we have perpetually avoided the truth, pretending that everything has been O.K., we have not focused on laws to protect us from domestic terrorism. We are at a bigger risk of destroying ourselves than falling at the hands of external extremists.

THE WORK OF RESTORING this regression in our democracy is daunting, but we are fighting for the lost promises of liberty, justice and pursuit of happiness. The path ahead: Step out of your comfort zone, engage with your enemies and make them your friends. When we interact with those we fear and hate, we will find commonality. Hope will be found by understanding that diversity is the essence of the American Dream and why we need each other to fulfill it.

To bridge the divide:

1. We must realize that most of our differences are exaggerated nuances fueled by uncompromising ignorance.

2. We must see others' struggles as our own, and their success as our success, so we can speak to our common humanity.

3. We must build a more connected society, using our resources to uplift one another so we collectively benefit.

No one has the privilege of inaction. No one has the privilege of saying this is not their battle. If we are not actively fighting against regressive ideologies, we are contributing to their growth. We must be courageous. We must spread a radical vision of love and unity.

It is possible, but it will take a long time—we are trying to undo centuries of institutional and personal hatred and exclusion. This is a generational project; do not underestimate the power of human connection.

Omar is a Minnesota state representative and the first Somali-American Muslim lawmaker

FROM SELMA TO CHARLOTTESVILLE, THE GHOSTS OF OUR PAST

BY TAVIS SMILEY

There's nothing quite like being on vacation halfway around the world and trying to explain American-style racism. As an African American, I am expected by the locals to be an expert on these matters. The backstory of every nation features different players, but the narrative is essentially the same: one group contests the humanity of another group or groups to gain power and privilege.

Part of what makes it so hard to explain the American holocaust of slavery is that more than a century later, people still don't want to tell the truth about it, which makes it impossible to honestly assess and own up to what's happening right now. My grandmother Big Mama, born a sharecropper in Jim and Jane Crow Mississippi, used to always tell me, "You can't start out wrong and end up right."

After turning on my phone from a self-imposed news blackout, I immediately saw the news out of Charlottesville, Va., and just as immediately, I thought about America's segregationist past.

In March 1965, Viola Liuzzo, a housewife and mother of five from Michigan, traveled to Alabama to help Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference march for voting rights.

As soon as she arrived in Selma, Liuzzo joined the carpool system of driving around civil rights marchers. While she drove a 19-year-old black man named Leroy Moton in her car, Liuzzo was ambushed by a car full of Klansmen and murdered.

Liuzzo was the first white female protester to die in the civil rights movement. When the nation saw the news coverage, it changed the conversation about civil rights and helped speed passage of the Voting Rights Act.

Fast-forward 50 years and another white woman working for freedom and justice is killed, at a rally protesting the Klan. Heather Heyer had repeatedly championed civil rights issues on social media and regularly drew attention to cases of police malpractice and racism.

The parallels are eerie, and yet the

tragic loss of these two precious lives raises unsettling questions about whether Donald Trump is the only one who engages in false equivalency.

Do you believe that the outrage would be the same if the victim killed by that surging car had not been a young white woman but rather a young black man, like the one being hurled through the air like a rag doll in that photo now seen around the world? Do you believe that the racist marchers can legitimately claim the right of victimhood just because they were met by peaceful counterprotesters? Do you believe that guns would not have been drawn and discharged had those protesters that we saw pummeling the police been black instead of white?

I'm sick and tired of our situational, conditional and ephemeral moral outrage.

With all due respect to the President, he's a joke. But the joke is on us, unless and until we get serious about freedom and justice, equal opportunity and fundamental fairness for all. Until then, Trump can cling to his "law and order" trope, all day, every day. But there is no peace without justice. Viola Liuzzo understood this, which is why she traveled to Selma. "This is everybody's fight," she told her family.

Heather Heyer understood it as well. Her Facebook cover photo read, "If you're not outraged, you're not paying attention."

It's time for us to start paying attention, and moreover, paying it forward. So if you're one of the folks who hate the phrase "Black Lives Matter" and prefer "Blue Lives Matter" or "All Lives Matter," it's your turn to step up. Not now—right now.

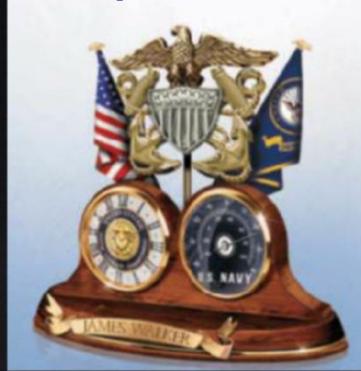
White woman. Dead. Two white male Virginia state troopers. Dead. In a real sense, what killed them is more important than who killed them. Are we ready yet to wrestle with that? The only way for them to receive dignity in death—for their lives to truly matter—is for all of us to come to terms with what killed them: American-style hate.

Smiley hosts Tavis Smiley on PBS and is the author of the forthcoming book Leading by Listening

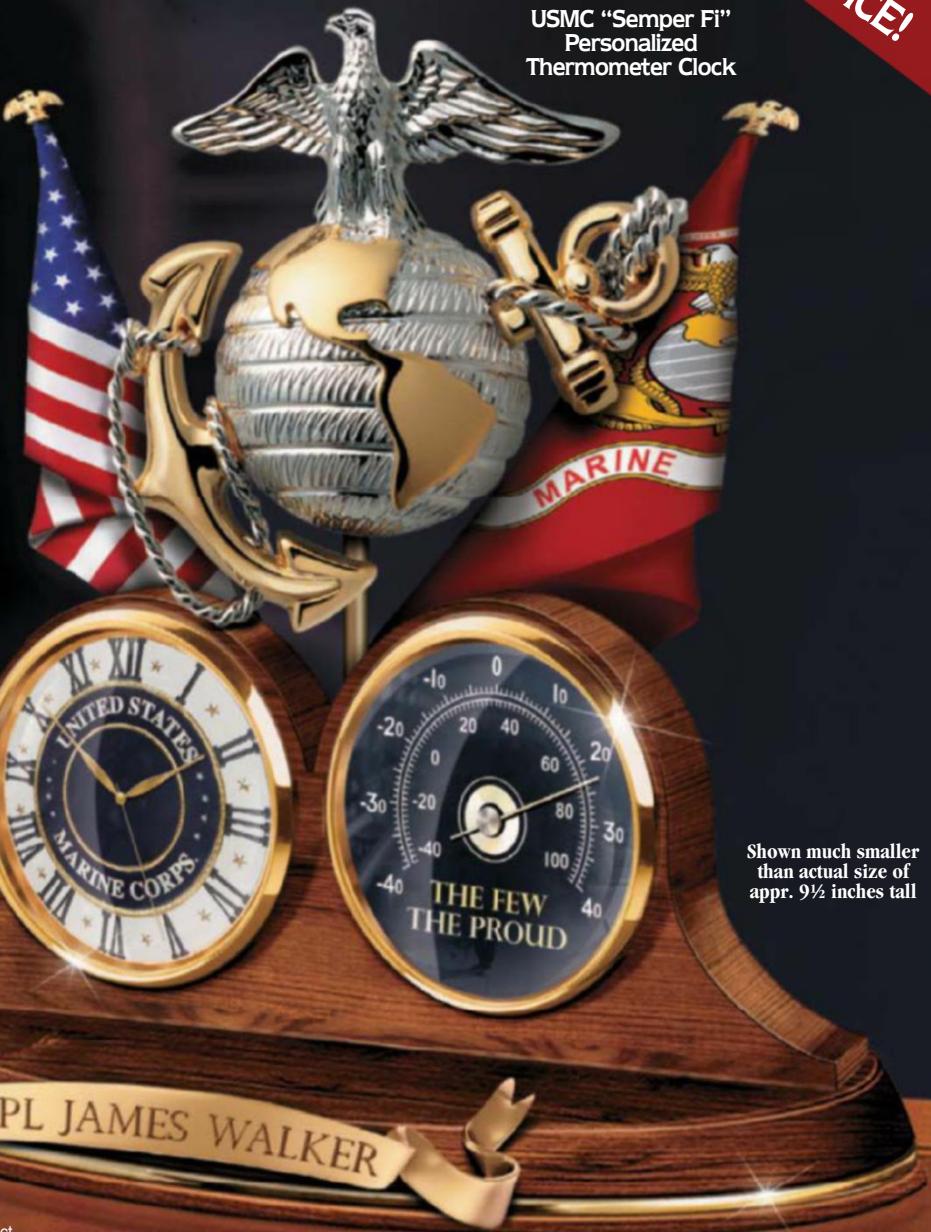
Time to Honor the Valor of a Very Special Hero

YOUR
CHOICE!

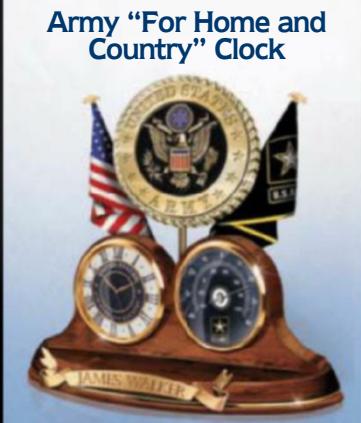
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TIFF

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**Lakeith
Stanfield,
contemporary
chameleon**

By Eliza Berman

ASK PERFORMERS WHAT THEY WERE LIKE AS CHILDREN, AND YOU'LL often get one of two answers: "I was the center of attention" or "I was a quiet observer." Lakeith Stanfield claims to have been both, in a manner of speaking. "Oh, please," says the 26-year-old actor. "I was observing that mirror—to see how I was looking. I had to be the center of attention. There was no other center."

Stanfield may not be at the center of Hollywood quite yet, but he's racing toward it. If you didn't catch him as the victim of a racially motivated twist on body-snatching in *Get Out*, perhaps you saw his uncanny young Snoop Dogg in *Straight Outta Compton* or his martyred civil rights activist in *Selma*. In the span of three months he's starred in as many Netflix movies: opposite Brad Pitt in *War Machine*, as an ex who can't be shaken in the rom-com *The Incredible Jessica James*, and as an eccentric detective in the manga adaptation *Death Note* (Aug. 25). If that's not enough, he recently played a parallel-universe Chandler from *Friends* in a Jay-Z music video that recast the '90s sitcom with all black actors.

Stanfield's first role as leading man comes in the drawn-from-real-life drama *Crown Heights*, which won the U.S. Dramatic Audience Award at Sundance and will hit theaters on Aug. 18. Stanfield plays Colin Warner, a Trinidadian immigrant who spent 20 years in prison for a murder he didn't commit. As Warner, Stanfield is a vessel that refuses to capsize in even the angriest storm. "After a while he became institutionalized," Stanfield says. "But there was still this sense of *I don't belong here* that would maintain throughout the duration." In preparation for the role, Stanfield spent several days with the real Warner, who was finally exonerated in 2001.

Stanfield was never particularly concerned with belonging. He started acting in high school in the sleepy city of Victorville, Calif., where he describes himself as alternately a weirdo ("when I went to drama class"), a cool kid ("when I had new shoes") and a dweeb ("when those wore out"). He relished reinvention. "I could be anybody walking through the door—you don't know what you're going to get," he recalls. "But you're getting something."

His role in the 2008 short film *Short Term 12* led to his casting in its 2013 feature-length adaptation, for which he was nominated for an Independent Spirit Award. As a young man about to age out of a home for troubled teens, he rattled with repression, catching the eye of Donald Glover, who would later cast him in the Golden Globe-winning comedy *Atlanta*. As Darius on that show, Stanfield has attracted a devoted following for his poetic, left-field observations, lubricated by weed and delivered with unflinching sincerity. In one episode, he asks, apropos of nothing, if he can measure someone's tree. In another, he considers the benefits of using a rat as a cell phone ("messy, but worth it").

In real life, traces of Darius creep into the actor's speech. He occasionally answers in rhyme—which may also reflect his other creative outlet, rapping. His response to a question about his hopes for Darius next season—"I hope Darius gets a doggy"—sounds like something his character would say. As does his reaction to a question about whether all this success makes him want to take a moment to relax. "Oh, no, no, no, no, no!" he exclaims. "Ain't no slack in my act, Jack. It just gets more and more"—here he pants and channels Jim Carrey in *The Mask*—"cah-RAY-zy!" As do the demands of his other new role: parenthood, with partner and *The Mindy Project* actor Xosha Roquemore. "I feel like everything's brand new. I feel like a little baby again," he says. Then he breaks into baby talk, giggles and hangs up the phone. □

MOVIES

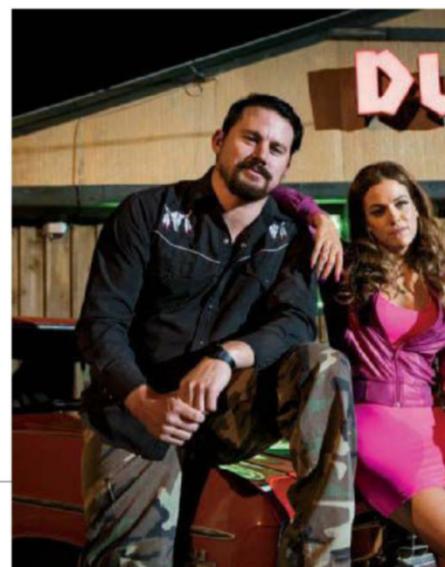
Striking it Logan Lucky

FORGET, FOR A MOMENT, screenplays and cinematography, editing and performances. The most underrated tool for assessing the worth of a movie is generosity of spirit: How does a filmmaker treat his characters, and what does that say about his view of the world? Steven Soderbergh's heist comedy *Logan Lucky*—starring Channing Tatum as a divorced West Virginia dad who, out of desperation, masterminds an elaborate robbery of North Carolina's Charlotte Motor Speedway—is one of the director's most exuberant pictures. And it riffs on the best impulses of humankind rather than the worst.

Tatum's Jimmy Logan appears to be a victim of the family curse: a bum leg has led to the loss of his job, and his ex-wife (Katie Holmes) has told him she's moving to another state, taking the couple's pigtailed mite of a daughter (Farrah Mackenzie) with her. Jimmy entices his bartender brother Clyde (Adam Driver), who lost part of his arm in Iraq, and his tough-cookie hairstylist sister Mellie (Riley Keough) to join him in stealing a bunch of

'I could be anybody walking through the door—you don't know what you're going to get. But you're getting something.'

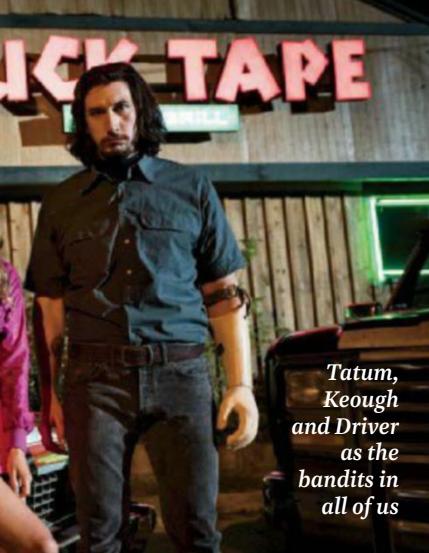
POINT BREAK: EVERETT; CARDS, CHESS, DIAMONDS, CASH, TIE, SWIM TRUNKS, SNIPER, BOMB, HEART ON FIRE, CROSSFIRE, THE THOMAS CROWN AFFAIR: GETTY IMAGES



loot. This requires busting the local explosives expert, Joe Bang (Daniel Craig), out of prison. The master plan includes fake salt, cockroaches painted with nail polish and a chalkboard equation explaining the science behind making a big boom. "Or as I like to call it," Joe says, "a Joe Bang."

This messy hash of flimflammetry comes together, in the end, with ace line-cook clarity. But the pleasures of *Logan Lucky* go far beyond its mechanics. The actors are all marvelous, and their characters defy cartoonishness even as they dare us to see them only as cartoons. *Logan Lucky* is close in tone to Soderbergh's superb *Out of Sight* (1998), adapted from material by the great Elmore Leonard. Leonard could concoct dazzling plots, but he was really more interested in exploring why humans think as they do—and teasing out twinges of recognition in all of us. The *Logan Lucky* script is attributed to one Rebecca Blunt, who is rumored to be a fictitious person. If only more not-fictitious people could write scripts like this. Soderbergh financed it independently, without big studio money, creating a magnificent movie that comes disguised as a modest one. Or as I like to call it, a Joe Bang.

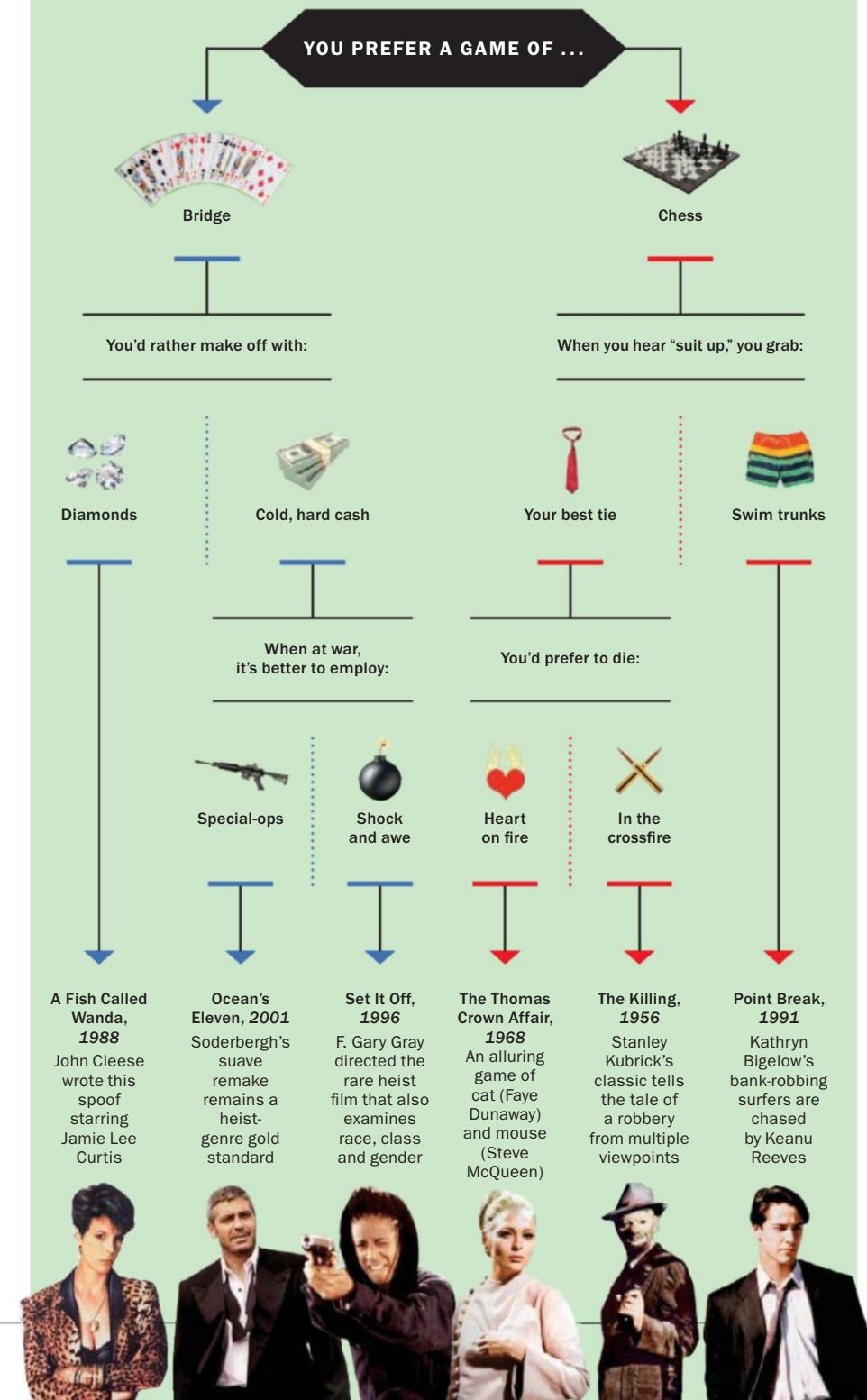
—STEPHANIE ZACHAREK



THE DECIDER

How to steal a million—and then some

From high-speed getaways to planning montages, Edgar Wright's *Baby Driver* (out now) and Steven Soderbergh's *Logan Lucky* (Aug. 18) are reinvigorating the heist genre. If they leave you craving more, you need this chart. —Eliana Dockterman





Macdonald as Killa P: these Timberlands were made for walking—straight out of New Jersey

MOVIES

A Jersey girl dreams big

SMALL-TOWN NEW JERSEY CAN BE A PETRI DISH FOR SOME pretty big dreams. That's certainly true for Patti (Australian actor Danielle Macdonald), the gutsy heroine of writer-director Jeremy Jasper's affable debut, *Patti Cake\$*. Patti's a rapper—her stage name, at least if she can ever reach an actual stage, is Killa P—and she longs to escape her drab life in an even more drab town, a place that seems designed to kill dreams. From where she lives, she can see the skyscrapers of Manhattan, looking as small as toys in the distance. But for a city within view, this one couldn't be further out of reach.

Patti is no conventional beauty: her hair hangs in limp blond ripples, and her shape is less than svelte. Her last name is Dombrowski, and since childhood she's had to shoulder the nickname Dumbo. But Patti's belief in herself is as lush and enveloping as a Fendi fur. She finds solace, and equally fiery ambition, in the company of her lone friend, Jheri (Siddharth Dhananjay). When she meets a strange, elegant guitarist and beatmaster, a tall black kid with one blue eye who calls himself Basterd (Mamoudou Athie), she wonders if he might be the key that will open the door to her dream.

Jasper tells Patti's story by blending kitchen-sink drabness with fairy-tale idealism. He's better at the idealism; for the realness, he favors wobbly closeups that often render his characters' faces unintentionally grotesque, and he works too hard at signaling the dinginess of Patti's surroundings. (Dirty dishes piled up in the kitchen have long been the international symbol for giving up on life.) But *Patti Cake\$* motors along steadily on Macdonald's unsentimental charisma. Her Patti radiates a slow-burning glow—she's a firefly ready to become a flash of lightning—and there's never a minute when you don't want good things to happen for her. Divaliciousness is a state of mind, but it's always better with an audience. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK



'Mae West meets Biggie Smalls with the heart of Bruce Springsteen.'

Patti Cake\$ director **GEREMY JASPER**, in the *Los Angeles Times*, on his larger-than-life heroine

TIME PICKS

BOOKS

Kamila Shamsie's modern take on *Antigone*, ***Home Fire*** (out now), is a cross-continental novel about civil disobedience that tackles political and emotional matters with equal assurance.

TELEVISION

In the fourth and final season of the drama ***Halt and Catch Fire*** (Aug. 19) returning to AMC, the series' ambitious tech innovators navigate the Internet's early days.



^ MUSIC

Indie-folk sensation **Grizzly Bear** emerges from hibernation with a new, moody album, *Painted Ruins* (Aug. 18), ironically inspired by Steely Dan.

▼ MOVIES

Brett Gelman stars opposite Judy Greer as a newly dumped out-of-work actor watching his life fall apart in the awkward charmer ***Lemon*** (Aug. 18), which was co-written with his wife, director Janicza Bravo.



TELEVISION

Streaming now: two sets of subversive heroes

By Daniel D'Addario

“DO NOT SAY THE H WORD!,” A VISIBLY TIRED Jessica Jones (Krysten Ritter) spits as she staggers, Irish coffee in hand. “I’ve got enough of a headache as it is.” That word is *hero* (not, somehow, *hangover*), and she may be the only human in Hollywood who’s not happy to hear it. Jones, a character from Marvel Comics who had her own stand-alone series on Netflix in 2015, has been united with three counterparts in *The Defenders*. It’s the latest bold move from a studio—one that also produces current or upcoming shows on ABC, Fox, FX and Hulu—whose ability to keep us watching seems at times the most notable thing about its work on TV.

This time, Jones, a private eye, is joined by Luke Cage (Mike Colter), an ex-con who shares Jones’ superstrength; Daredevil (Charlie Cox), a blind lawyer and ace fighter; and Iron Fist (Finn Jones), a kung-fu-practicing Buddhist monk. All had their own Netflix shows, with varying degrees of success (Ritter’s was the strongest by far). Now, just as the *Iron Man* and *Thor* movies led to *The Avengers*, our TV heroes are coming together to battle an epic adversary.

That nemesis (Sigourney Weaver) is wittily cast and elegantly played, if not given much to do in the show’s early episodes. *The Defenders* makes it clear that the reason Marvel’s movies get more attention than its TV show isn’t just the supervillain money they make at the box office. Those movies are constrained, in a necessary way, by format and running time. But the sprawl of television allows a familiar story—the protracted rivalries between differing superheroes giving way to hard-won if tentative cooperation—to bloat beyond recognition and become too reliant on darkness.

IN A VERY DISTANT CORNER of the comics universe, Amazon is bringing some welcome wit and warmth to the genre. *The Tick*, a niche comics character who was previously the hero of a 2001 Fox sitcom, springs into life with unencumbered vim. The superstrong, relentlessly energetic savior, played by Peter Serafinowicz, operates in a comic-book universe entirely disconnected from any running story line. That’s part of the joke, as the hero’s lack of a long-term memory emboldens him to feats of derring-do while



Colter, Ritter and Cox team up to save the world, with grim determination

▼ TICK TALKS

The dimwitted superhero (Serafinowicz), who is superstrong, is prone to aphorisms. “You’ve got the brains,” he tells Arthur, but “I’ve got the everything else.”



keeping him from hearing the protestations of his would-be sidekick, Arthur (Griffin Newman).

Serafinowicz, with sharp, sunny delivery, nails the sort of delusion underpinning the myth, the cracked psyche that it would take to put on a form-fitting costume replete with bobbing antennae and leap toward the sky. And Newman, as the civilian roped into the Tick’s schemes, comes up with a coherent way to sell a situation fundamental to the superhero story: What would it be like for a normal person to come into contact with the power—and self-confident derangement—of a superhero?

The Defenders, set in a heroes-only world that Marvel has invested great time and money to seal off, doesn’t ask the question. *The Tick* places the un-super Arthur—a person who not only lacks preternatural gifts but is also bearing up under the stress of it all—at its center as a way to start a new sort of story. Or at least one that’s deeply self-aware about its repetitious aspects. When Arthur denies to the Tick that he has any business being a super-sidekick, the Tick has other ideas, indicating just how familiar he is with the lore. “You’re already at Stage 3,” he insists. “The hero rejects the call!” A subversive superhero show need not skip the *H* word in order to play at grittiness. What it can do is address heroic delusions and mastery with spirit and a sense of that most elusive quality among supermen: fun.

THE DEFENDERS is streaming on Netflix now; **THE TICK** will stream on Amazon starting Aug. 25

SPORTS

The making of a cynical sporting spectacle in the desert

By Sean Gregory

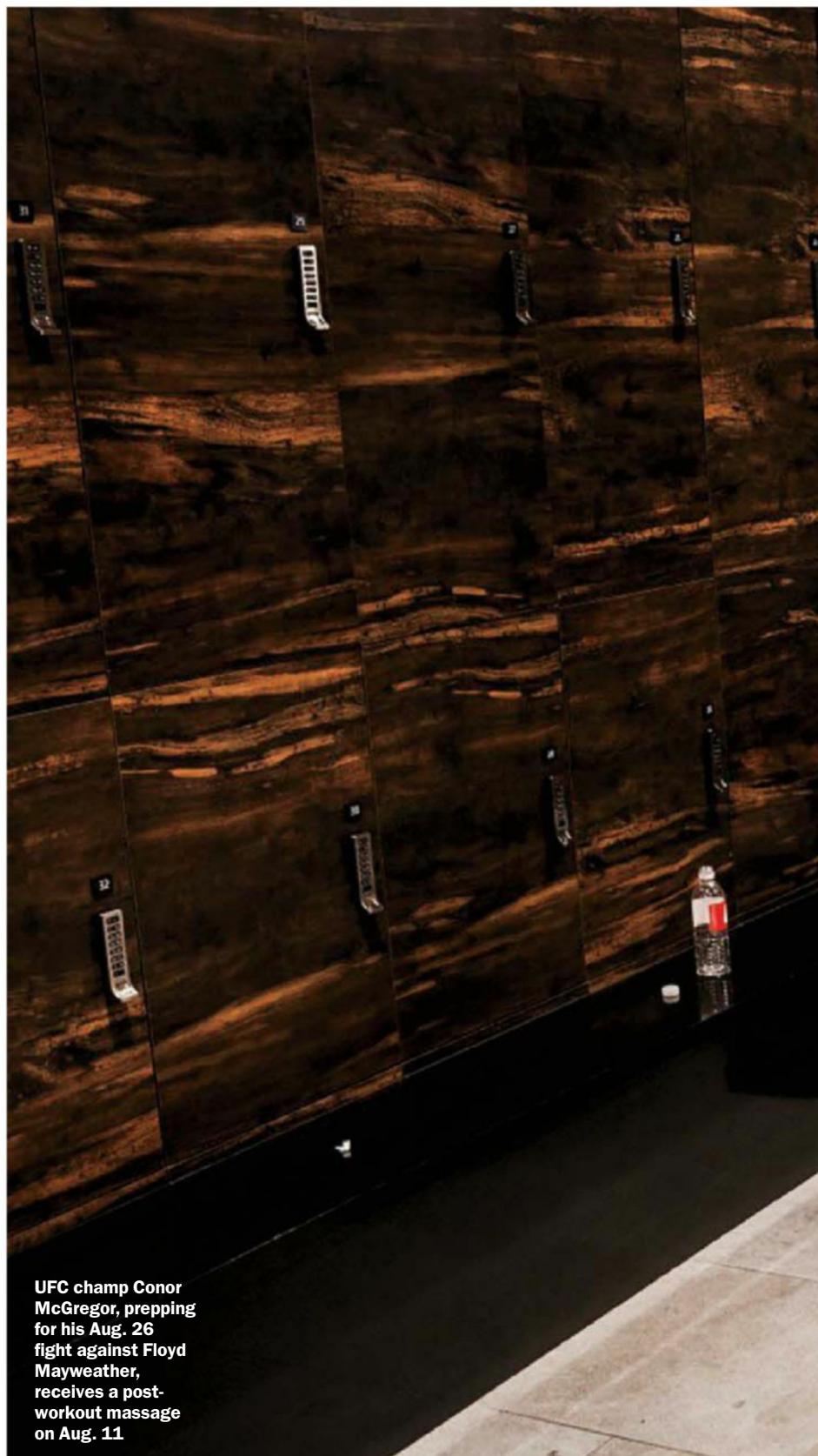
LAS VEGAS IS AMERICA'S CAPITAL city of absurdity, where gambling palaces rise from the desert, illusionists escape from straitjackets and anyone can get rich quick. Which makes it a fitting site for the most craven carnival of the nation's sporting summer, the fight between American boxer Floyd Mayweather and Irish mixed martial arts (MMA) star Conor McGregor.

On Aug. 26, Mayweather, the recently unretired welterweight champion and one of the top pound-for-pound fighters of all time, will square off against McGregor, the biggest name in the ascendant UFC. What's at stake? Well, that's the rub.

Unlike most big-time pugilism spectacles, this fight is not a title bout. In fact, it will be McGregor's first professional boxing match. (MMA allows kicking and wrestling in addition to punching.) The smart money is on Mayweather. And no matter the outcome, each man will reportedly take home more than \$100 million for a night's work.

The pairing is a sign of how far the sweet science has fallen in American culture. Mayweather, 40, hasn't fought in almost two years, yet he remains the sport's biggest U.S. draw. The brasher UFC has happily taken boxing's place in the firmament; the number of annual events it stages has doubled this decade. When the UFC made its long-awaited debut in New York City last November, tens of thousands of Irish-flag-waving fans filled Madison Square Garden to watch McGregor win the lightweight crown.

Consider this showdown boxing's desperate bid for eyes and wallets—both of which it seems to be winning. The fight is poised to break a pay-per-view record (it costs \$95.95 to watch in HD), and the casinos are taking in millions in bets.



UFC champ Conor McGregor, prepping for his Aug. 26 fight against Floyd Mayweather, receives a post-workout massage on Aug. 11



In the absence of consequence, venom has filled the vacuum. The fight was announced in mid-June—the Super Bowl matchup, by comparison, is set two weeks before kickoff—and the time since has been a parade of odious self-promotion. Among the lowlights of the three-country press tour: homophobic slurs (Mayweather, though he apologized), racist taunts (McGregor, though he denied the intent), misogyny (both) and a custom-made suit emblazoned with F-CK YOU (McGregor, presenting himself to Mayweather). Muhammad Ali's lyrical wit, this was not.

Even before this production, Mayweather had turned off many fans because of his history of violence against women. In 2010 his son, then 10, wrote in a statement to police that "my dad was hitting my mom." Mayweather was sentenced to 90 days in jail after he pleaded guilty to a reduced battery domestic violence charge and no contest to two harassment charges.

McGregor, 29, has the backstory to play the hero. Raised in a blue collar Dublin suburb, he resisted the temptation to join a gang or deal drugs. Days before his first UFC fight, in 2013, he collected a \$235 welfare check; he needed it after giving up a job as a plumber's apprentice. He skyrocketed to the top of the UFC, earning millions of dollars and global adoration along the way. Yet McGregor can't resist the low road; in July he wore the jersey of an NBA player who was allegedly involved with Mayweather's ex.

Despite the unsavory buildup, the bout is likely to be the biggest fight on U.S. soil since Mayweather vanquished Manny Pacquiao in 2015. As the two fighters have settled into their desert training camps (*right*), the crowds have thronged along with the publicity machine. "We figured out a way to take this to another level," said Mayweather Promotions CEO Leonard Ellerbe. "It's called entertainment ... People are intrigued about the Kardashians!"

No fight could live up to these expectations. But many will be watching, just in case. □





The hype surrounding the showdown has followed Mayweather and McGregor to their Las Vegas training camps

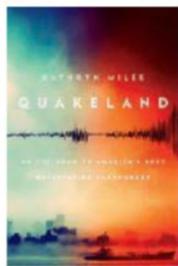




Houses in San Francisco, after an April 18, 1906, earthquake toppled them and killed thousands

ENVIRONMENT

The earth moving under us



“YOU CAN BE forgiven,” writes Kathryn Miles in *Quakeland* (Aug. 29), “for thinking that the ground beneath your feet is solid.” Yet it isn’t, and by the end of her reporting readers will feel a bit unsteady.

The concerns at the core of *Quakeland* are that seismologists know the most about the potential earthquakes that are the least alarming, and that we all know little about quakes to begin with. They remain the least predictable of natural disasters and possibly the most catastrophic.

While many of us know that California will likely suffer a sizable earthquake within three decades (or of the threats facing the coastal Pacific Northwest, thanks to a Pulitzer Prize-winning 2015 *New Yorker* article by Kathryn Schulz), few realize that New York City sits atop “a brittle grid” of rock and is overdue for a destructive quake. The city also resides about 25 miles downriver of Indian Point Energy Center, a nuclear plant that one retired consultant calls “Fukushima on the Hudson” after the 2011 Japanese nuclear disaster, which was caused by an

earthquake and led to an evacuation covering hundreds of square miles and more than 1,000 deaths. (The state recently announced that Indian Point will close in 2021.)

Miles renders a map of other endangered municipalities, like the Oklahoma city that houses tanks containing tens of millions of barrels of oil, in a state where quakes are increasing. Or the stretches of Mississippi River communities where survivors would struggle to receive relief depending on how one bridge fares. Or the several states where the mining and oil- and gas-drilling industries are causing more and more unnatural quakes and whose paychecks allow impoverished people to buy houses their work could end up cleaving. There are also plausible not-even-worst-case scenarios where thousands die, hundreds of thousands become homeless and billions of dollars’ worth of property and resources disintegrate—and that’s only for the known seismic faults. Scientists worry more about the many they have yet to find.

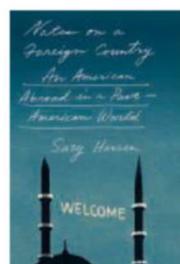
That fear you feel? It’s intended. Miles prefers the most provocative possibilities as *Quakeland* seeks to rattle us free of the ignorance, uncertainty and short memory that have paralyzed plans for prevention and survival. —NATE HOPPER

TRAVEL

Another innocent abroad

IN 2007, AT THE AGE OF 29, Suzy Hansen moved from New York City to Istanbul. The same city had provided refuge to James Baldwin, whose writing opened Hansen’s eyes to an essential truth to which she had been blissfully ignorant: that she was not just an American but a white American, a position so privileged, it afforded the luxury of blissful ignorance.

Notes on a Foreign Country is Hansen’s ardent, often lovely attempt to take self-awareness overseas. It doesn’t come along peacefully. But then Baldwin wrote of people in intimate proximity, while Hansen tackles the sins of U.S. foreign policy. Her humans are separated by thousand of miles and opposing governments—Washington, and the ones it manipulates. The one easy thing here is Hansen’s company. In Dubai, “sky and the water melt into an aluminum-hued oblivion.” A Hilton “had the benevolent totalitarian aesthetic of the United Nations.” A nurse speaks “in a tone that makes you want to put your head on her shoulder.” If Noam Chomsky could write like this, Hansen’s work would already be done. —KARL VICK





What do I do now? A midlife career change may be just the challenge you need

By Kristin van Ogtrop

THE OTHER NIGHT I HAD DINNER WITH MY FRIEND KIM, who in midlife is endeavoring to change her career. She has spent decades as a successful photographer, but she knows it's time to do something different. What, however, is she qualified to do, besides photography? "I'm good at parties," she told me with a shrug. "And parallel parking." We refilled our wine-glasses and laughed really hard as we dreamed up the various careers in which that particular combination might be useful.

Here's a humbling exercise: Ask yourself what you're good at, aside from the skills you use at work. After my conversation with Kim, I put this question to a handful of friends and got responses ranging from "finding restaurants for people" to "spotting terrific old chairs." The more I think about my own answer to this question, the more confused I seem to get. Which apparently does not happen to everyone—but more about politics in a minute.

A YEAR AGO THIS MONTH I left a job, and a career, that brought me great satisfaction for more than two decades. Can serendipity be a strategy? It certainly worked for me. I happened to find a field in which my skills and the requirements of the job were a Venn diagram with near total overlap. Like most of my friends, I spent my 20s and 30s marching determinedly along my given path, working hard, with purpose, and by the time I reached my 40s, I was able to enjoy the fruits of my labor. Isn't that the way the American Dream goes?

Here's what you learn when you wake up from that dream: hubris is the unpleasant by-product of success. If you are really good at your job for a long enough time, you begin to believe that you can be good at any job and therefore can easily jump from one thing to another, switching horses in midstream. Examples of this flawed thinking are everywhere, from the harmlessly frivolous (*Dancing With the Stars*) to the dangerously serious (the current presidency). As it turns out, humility is its own kind of skill; developing it hurts, but falling on your face hurts more.

Over the years a number of 20-somethings have come to me for advice, which I have dutifully given: Work hard, meet lots of people, say yes to many things. Don't whine, put a smile on your face, remind yourself that studying Foucault for four years in college might not prove to be particularly relevant in the working world. Swallow your pride and ask a lot of questions.

What I should be telling the young and ambitious is this: being really good at one thing is fantastic until it isn't. The day may come—in my experience, will come—when you know you want to do, want to be, something else. For example,



20-somethings, one day you might want to appear on *Dancing With the Stars*. I'm not sure if Sean Spicer is a fool or a genius for turning down this opportunity for his first post-Administration gig. Maybe he's not aware that Apolo Ohno placed first on the show?

Or maybe you'll want to run for President. Never mind that it was a President—Abraham Lincoln—who popularized the admonition about switching horses in midstream. If you are a real estate tycoon and loudmouthed TV star who made a name for yourself with a combination of instinct, bravado and riding the wave of chaos you create everywhere you go, then who cares what Abe Lincoln said? The White House is the logical next career step.

Or, 20-somethings, maybe you'll do both! At the same time! After all, doesn't today's White House sort of resemble *Dancing With the Stars*, if you squint hard and use your imagination? With experts and amateurs working together, trying to make it all look graceful while the audience alternatively laughs and cries?

SO, FOLKS, AN ASSIGNMENT: Ask yourself what you're good at. As for me, aside from what I most recently did for a living—writing, editing, managing people and showing up to meetings on time—my greatest strengths seem to be making vacation packing lists and remembering which houses in my town are on the market. So I have entered this next phase of my life with gratitude (for what I've accomplished), humility (about all that I don't know) and fear (see random greatest strengths). I used to be filled with optimism; if Donald Trump could become President, anything seemed possible. But with each passing month, and each new fiasco, my optimism dims. If he wanted to try something new, wouldn't *Dancing With the Stars* have been a wiser choice?

Van Ogtrop is the author of Just Let Me Lie Down: Necessary Terms for the Half-Insane Working Mom

Jen Hatmaker The Texas pastor, author, homemaker and social-media star talks about faith, family and the debates that are causing schisms among Christians

In your new book, *Of Mess and Moxie*, you call yourself “low-grade Christian famous.” What does that look like? It’s maybe a D-minus level, enough to get recognized in airports, but not enough to really have any true advantages. The Christian world is pretty small, especially for women in leadership.

As a woman of faith, do you think there’s a way forward in the anti-abortion vs. pro-abortion rights debate? It’s one that my particular tribe of women is asking. Historically the Christian community has taken what is a very fraught decision and reduced it down to a sound bite. Right or wrong. But rather than simply just a pro-life stance, I’m seeing a much broader construct, which is pro-prenatal care, pro-affordable housing, pro-health care.

Why did so many evangelical Christians vote for President Trump, who didn’t seem to espouse traditional evangelical values? The election exposed a divide in the Christian community in terms of what we hold dear and what garners votes. We are now facing an incredible uphill battle to see if we can reclaim any shared territory.

A lot of Christian leaders have been very excited by his actions so far. Are you? I am incredibly concerned. I am concerned for my friends of color, for my friends who are immigrants. I’m deeply concerned about the language and the tone, that adversarial space is just being normalized. My son [who was adopted from Ethiopia] has peacefully and happily gone to school with his classmates now for almost six years. Shortly after the election he started hearing his first racial slurs in school.

Has your perspective changed now that you’re the parent of children from Africa? Unquestionably. Going into our adoption, I would have said racism mostly was in the rearview mirror.

It has been a crash course in lingering racism and implicit bias and the awful realities of white privilege. I’m probably not even the same human being as I was when I first brought them home.

Do you think LGBTQ issues will eventually divide the church? I feel hopeful, to be honest. Had you asked this question even 10 years ago, I would have had a different answer. Now I see really smart people pulling chairs up to the table and thinking this through together. If we are following Christ literally, then nobody’s humanity is up for grabs. Nobody. That is a nonnegotiable. So I’m hopeful. And I hope to help lead that charge.

Were you surprised by the vitriol when you first expressed your opinion? Yes and no. I knew that space was tender. It’s fragile, theologically. But if the end result was that I in some tiny, tiny, tiny way created a little safe space where really good people could join a conversation that matters, then I’m glad for it. It nicely parlays into what my dream is for my little moment on this earth, which is to set a really wide table.

What are the conversations happening in your church community, and your dinner table, about Charlottesville? Our family and church community watched the brutal display of humanity in Charlottesville. I was horrified. I was humiliated. I was furious. But I was not surprised. Our friends of color have been sounding the alarm for centuries, but we’ve been conditioned to rationalize the circumstances—“This wasn’t about white supremacy; it was about removing history!”; distance ourselves from complicity; and minimize the pain of our neighbors. The truth is obvious to anyone humble enough to admit it: white supremacy is a scourge upon the American landscape, and the only adequate response is confession, repentance

and an unwillingness to normalize the language, icons, symbols and inequitable systems that celebrate the White Story over the Real Story. In our family and church we spent the weekend lamenting, and we will continue to spend our days listening to our friends—and children—of color, believing them, and fighting for them.

You’ve called yourself the worst-ever end-of-school mom. After five kids are you better at back to school? It’s a nightmare. I think it cost me around \$3 million a year to get them all back into school. When I was growing up, my mom gave me a notebook and a pencil.

What is your parenting philosophy in one sentence? Take your time. No pressure. Lighten up—it’s probably going to be O.K.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE

If we are following Christ literally, then nobody’s humanity is up for grabs. Nobody. That is a nonnegotiable.’



GLORY HAUS



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